As the lineages (*haa*) are patrilineal, a *fahu* usually does not belong to 604
the lineage in which he exercises his right. In Cook's time (1777) the 613
Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, of the Haa Fale Fisi, was *fahu* to the Tui Tonga
Pau, as was also Latunipulu's sister the Tamaha Moungalakepa. Cook 175
(19, vol. 1, p. 414) says of Latunipulu: "Latooliibooloo assumed the privi- 604
lege of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king." 613
Speaking of Latunipulu's little son in Eua, he says: "The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little Tammaha was."

Although the *fahu* owes his position primarily to his mother, neverthe- 604
less the *fahu* whose father is a great chief wields greater influence than 593
the *fahu* whose father is a petty chief or commoner, even if the mother of 554
each *fahu* is of exalted rank.

It is quite possible that cross-cousin marriage in Tonga is genetically 604
connected with the *fahu* concept, for it is usually the mother's brother's 582
daughter whom a man marries. In other words, he may make demand in his capacity of *fahu*.

ADOPTION

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children 597
are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particularly 604
children are adopted by aunts. Tongan genealogies give examples of children adopted by their paternal aunt (*mehekitanga*), such a child being called *"koe tama to he mehekitanga."* (For an example see 26, p. 146.) In general, a child adopted by a woman is known as her "child to her husband."

The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child 597
is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who 593
adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is [784]
still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards [604]
her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.

According to the high chief Ata of Tongatabu, an adopted son may supersede a real son as heir to the father's title. Ata (who was childless) stated that if he and his wife were to adopt the wife's brother's son, that
individual would become his heir even though he had an older son. It is [553]
seldom that a child receives his father's name, but it is customary to give an adopted son the name of his adoptive father.

Adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is 597
taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality. So well established [609]
is the custom that even today Europeans are adopted in much the manner

as was Mariner by Mafihape, Finau's wife (41, vol. 1, p. 84). Thus, in 609 597 [123] December, 1920, the Queen of Tonga arranged for the adoption of Norman Collocott (the youngest son of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott) by the heir apparent to the throne of Tonga, who assumed the relation of father. The prince was but two years old and Norman four. The Queen bestowed upon Norman the name of Tokeimoana. About the same time a half-caste gentleman named Von Treskow adopted the heir apparent, and in consequence will furnish him henceforth with yams and other produce from his plantations.

From information furnished by Fison, Morgan (45, p. 574) states that 597 a child may be adopted as a grandchild: "It should be noted that if a Tongan's grandchildren proper die out, he takes one of his father's sister's greatgrandchildren, who is then *called* his grandchild."

The present high chief Ata, whose birth name was Solomon Piutau, was adopted by Jane Lafulafu, who was sister of the *toutai* Ula, a distant relative of Ata's father. Ata was removed from his parents' home shortly after his first birthday and given the name Solomon Ula (or more fully Ulamoleka). Jane died while Ata was very small and her daughter Ana brought up Ata. Jane Lafulafu had no sons and Ana was barren. John Mohulamu, Ana's husband, was of matapule rank, but served no chief. Later, Solomon was elevated by the king to the Ata chieftainship, he being the nearest heir to the Ata chief who died.

KINSHIP TERMS

The Tongan system of kinship terms appears to lack true terms of 601 affinity. Kinship terms are extended liberally to collateral relatives, though not to such a great degree as in the Hawaiian system.

In addition to being designated by one of the regular kinship, the status of a relative may be so described. Thus, the paternal grandfather who is designated by the word *kui*, the generic term for grandparent, may be described as *koe tamai a eku tamai* (the father of my father). Or again a man's father's sister's son, who is designated by one of the words for brother, may be described as *koe tama tangata oe tuofefine a eku tamai* (the child male of the sister of my father). By this scheme all relatives more than one step removed from the speaker may be described. Side by side therefore are a "classificatory" method and a "descriptive" method of designating relatives.

Terms of relationship are not used in address, but personal names are so used. Even small children address their parents by their personal names. In this regard the Tongan practice is opposite that of most North American Indians, the English practice being intermediate between these two extremes.

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) 727
indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state 411
of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as
> their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they [609]
> had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred [177]
> during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much
in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then [177]
used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*ualulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungaloulau*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*nifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along 725
which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern in- 669
formants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chrono- [124]
logic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the [127]
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupou- [128]
toa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The [173]
following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

called Tui Malila.) This tortoise is said to have been left by Captain Cook 552
but as a matter of fact it was left sometime in the nineteenth century by a 643
passing sea captain. 231

The Tongan word for name is *hingoa.* A title is called *hingoa fakanofo* 551
(appointment name), a nickname *hingoa fakatenetene.* In the matter
of names the Tongans are very open-minded and are keen to accept foreign
words as personal names. Evidence of this tendency is to be found in the [177]
large series of English Christian names which have been Tonganized, and
now precede the Tongan personal name. The desire for new names results 553
in some curious usages. Thus, I heard of a child in Nukualofa who was
named Saiti after a Javanese who happened to be living in the house where
the child was born. This name Saiti is likely to be perpetuated; perhaps
it will be bestowed some years later on a child which the present bearer of
the name may adopt. I encountered another Tongan child who bore the
name Alameta, because a relative had voyaged to California and visited
the city of Alameda.

To apply the names of chiefs to commoners is customary, and is sanctioned 553
by the chiefs. Thus a Fijian in Nukualofa has the name Ulukalala, 565
which was bestowed upon him by the great chief Ulukalala in place of the
Fijian's former name Usaia.

In ancient times there would seem to have been occasional exchanges 553
of names such as were prevalent in the Society Islands, but that such exchange [171]
was common in Tonga I very much doubt. The single example of
exchange which came to my notice is in connection with the title Tuita
(p. 138).

Name givers were usually but not necessarily close relatives of the child
named. Europeans are often given Tongan names by Tongans. Thus, one 553
of the sons of E. E. V. Collocott was given the name of Tokeimoana by 609
the Queen. Mr. and Mrs. McKern's son, born in Tonga, was named Namoa
by the great chief Ata, this being the name of one of the sons of the Tui
Kanokupolu Mumui. The reason for selecting this name was that Ata's
mother is a descendant of Mumui. In Vavau I met a woman of high 553
rank, the daughter of the late Tui Ḫaa Teiho Paul Havea, who had been
given both a regular name and a nickname by King George I. She was
named Toafilimoeunga after the sister of the Tui Kanokupolu Vuna, and
was given the nickname Taimi (English time), the significance of which
will be discussed (p. 234).

Adoption invariably brings with it a new name which might in one sense 597
be considered a nickname. The origin of the name Ulamoleka is an illustration. 553
This is a name which the present Ata bore, following his adoption
by the daughter of the *toutai* Ula. Ata's original name was Piutau. The
Ulamoleka for whom the present Ata was named was originally called Ula,

[Ata Island]

bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which 166
is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant 173
island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed 266
to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon
the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party [501]
of the inhabitants hastily manned a *namatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened
to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern 128
Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the 103
title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Atā, which is
the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, [773]
expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island,
which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side 133
of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one 504 487
town on Ata and it was called Kolomaile, literally Myrtle town. It was 361
divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama 173
(16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man 166
named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter 484
named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island
as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to 173
two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island 166
when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures 484
upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the prin- 609
cipal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there

[Ata Island]

were but seven aborigines left when Tapuosi arrived and they were all men. 173
Of the total of five Ata informants that I interviewed three had heard of 166
the aborigines, a fourth seemed extremely hazy on the subject, and although 484
he assented when I finally made the question leading. The fifth informant 609
denied all knowledge of pre-Tongan aborigines on Ata. Here is Tupouata's account of the aborigines and their annihilation by Motuapuaka:

> When Motuapuaka and Tapuosi landed on the beach they saw at once the aborigines who were very tall people, "their thigh bones being the length of an ordinary man." Upon landing the elopers made straight for the people. The aborigines had no fire but appeared to eat their food raw, the principal diet being the fruit of the pandanus and shell fish. The two lovers arrived in the morning and sat on the beach watching the Ata islanders play a game called la'ula'ulo. This game was played by pinching the skin of the back of the hands. Two people played and placed the hands one above another alternately. The Ata people were exceedingly rough in this game, pinching very hard, biting one another, and "even eating one another." Tapuosi was quite frightened and told Motuapuaka that she was afraid of the savages. Motuapuaka took a stick and beat the aborigines who could not fight, wrestle, or throw missiles. He drove them into a cave. Then he pulled down their huts of grass and piled the grass in front of the cave. He set fire to it and proceeded to suffocate the aborigines. For a day and a night Motuapuaka kept the fire burning. He heard the cries of his victims but had no pity on them. It is said that the bones of those people are still to be seen in a big cave in Ata. The aborigines are said to have talked "like birds." In complexion they were like Tongans but were exceedingly tall, slender people.
>
> Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were not forced to depend upon the unpalatable pandanus fruit, for they had brought with them coconuts and yams, which they planted.

Presumably the arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi at Ata, if it is an his- 173
torical fact, occurred in the early eighteenth century. The genealogies of 166
the Tui Tonga family reveal a Tapuosi, daughter of the thirty-fourth Tui 484
Tonga, Fakanaanaa. Presumably Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were accompanied by followers.

There came next to Ata, according to the account of modern informants, a chief named Tameifuna, a man of Tungua Island in Haapai.

> Tameifuna was voyaging home from Fiji and being somewhat out of the usual course made Ata. He brought with him his wife Siakumi, whom he deserted, however, for an Ata woman named Otulau, the daughter of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. When Tameifuna returned to Tungua he left his wife Otulau behind. He told her to
> call the child, which she was to bear, Laufilitonga if a boy, Sinaitakala if a girl. The 173
> child proved to be a boy, who later became the father of the first chief of Ata, Tupouata. 622
> Tupouata claimed his chiefliness on the basis of his ancestress, Tapuosi being the
> daughter of the Tui Tonga. Tameifuna was the highest chief to reside in Ata. It was [643]
> said by informants that Tupouata became "king" of Ata at the wish of the people of that island and that he was not appointed by either the Tui Tonga or the Tui Kanokupolu.

The third accretion to the population of the island came in the latter part 173
of the eighteenth century. The chief Vaea of Houma, Tongatabu, had a 166
daughter named Hehea, who had a daughter named Latuhehea. Hehea 484

him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the bush he will 754
either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken 776
and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fel- 682
low townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives 683
dare not avenge his death.

The two Nomuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

> The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams. 683

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, 609
because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nomuka informants 186
knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had heard of witchcraft among other people.

> Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies. 755

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt 754
at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915. 597
685

> Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in 753
afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.)

2: Mariner

177, 114, 123, 609

[For information on the activities, treatment and influence of Mariner on Tonga culture, see Category 727.]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

principal natives of divers parties, who 128
had been eye-witnesses. The narration of [669]
events being brought down to the period of Mr. Mariner's fortunate escape *, the remainder of the work furnishes a more intimate detail of the state of society in regard to rank and professions; their religious and political government; the names and attributes of their principal gods; their notions of the human soul, and of a future state of existence; an investigation of their moral principles, and of their state of morals; a description of their most important religious ceremonies; an account of the healing art, with a detail of some important surgical operations practised by them; a description of their principal manufactures; their games and amusements; music, songs, &c.; and, lastly, a grammar of their language, and a vocabulary to the

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* The term escape is here used with propriety, for although Mr. M. was well treated, and had every thing that [609]
he could *there* want, the opportunities of returning home [727]
were very rare, and when he was about to profit from one that presented itself, his intention was opposed, and he was under the necessity of destroying one of the natives to accomplish his purpose.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

114 qualifications as a narrator, it remains to
furnish a short account of the advantageous
opportunities which fell in his way.
In the first place, it must be stated, that
he was by far the best educated of all
those who survived the capture of the Port
114 au Prince. From the first moment the
123 king of the Tonga islands saw him, he conceived
609 a strong prejudice in his favour,
727 and gave orders to those who had the management
of the conspiracy, that if they
should find it necessary to make a great
slaughter, they were nevertheless to preserve
his life;—this was the commencement
of a friendship which lasted till the
king's death: he gave him a residence
within his own fencing; appointed one of
his wives, a very sensible and well informed
woman, to be his adopted mother, that she
might employ her time in instructing him
in the language and exact customs of the
country: he admitted him to all his conferences
with his chiefs, priests, and matabooles:
at length he adopted him as his
own son, and gave him the name of a favourite
son, (Togi Oocumméa), who had

died a few years before: wherever the 114
king went, Mr. Mariner might accompany 123
him if he chose: in all the battles fought 609
by the king, Mr. Mariner was present. 727
After his death, his son, who succeeded, equally extended to him his patronage and protection, or rather Mr. Mariner might be called his dearest brother, his constant, intimate, and confidential friend; and so sorry was the young king to part with him, that he actually proposed to give up his dominions to his uncle, and accompany Mr. Mariner to England,—a sufficient proof that the latter possessed those qualities of mind calculated to inspire a high degree of confidence and friendship. But perhaps I am anticipating too much of some of the subjects of the following sheets; it appears to me, however, proper to state these things, that the mind of the reader may be prepared, without mistrust, for the quantity of interesting matter which so young a man has collected and remembered.

It is now four years since Mr. Mariner's 114
arrival from the West Indies; during which

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 obliged to be worked every half hour out of two.
114 By this time finding she had missed Otaheite,
by reason of an adverse current, she steered to
the westward for the Tonga islands, and on
Thursday the 27th of November saw that part
of them called the Hapai islands, bearing W. 12
miles. The leak had now increased to eighteen
inches per hour.

On Saturday, the 29th of November, 1806, at
4 P. M. the Port au Prince brought to, for the
last time, in 7 fathoms water at the N. W. point
of one of the Hapai islands, called Lefooga, in
the same place where Captain Cook had formerly
721 anchored. In the evening a number of Indian
609 chiefs came on board with a large barbacued
114 hog, and a quantity of ready dressed yams, as a
[431] present to the ship's company: with them came
a native of Owhyee, who spoke a little English,
which he had formerly learned on board an
American ship, that had taken him from the
Sandwich islands to Manilla, and thence had
brought him to the Tonga islands. This man,
whose name was Tooi Tooi, and whom we shall
hereafter have occasion to speak of, endeavoured, by all the means of expression that lay
in his power, to convince the ship's company
that the natives were disposed towards them in
the most friendly manner. Another Sandwich
islander, however, whom the Port au Prince had
brought along with her, as may be recollected,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

with seven others, from Anahooroo bay, de- 609
clared his opinion that the Indians had hostile 721
intentions, and he advised Mr. Brown to keep a 114
watchful eye over them, and even to send all out of the ship, excepting a few chiefs, by treating whom in a friendly way, the produce of the islands might be procured. Mr. Brown, how- 114
ever, disregarded this sage admonition, ordered the man to quit the quarter-deck, and even threatened to flog him—a treatment which the poor fellow little deserved, for his opinion of the natives was but too well founded, although his less honest countryman Tooi Tooi had spoken so well of them: and had not Mr. Brown unfortunately been above receiving good advice, the Port au Prince might again have reached England in safety, and thus he might have preserved his own life, and the lives of many others.

On Sunday morning, the 30th of November, [609
the men were ordered to be busily engaged in 721]
careening the vessel, at which they all demurred, and some absolutely refused, being desirous of going on shore, as they had been accustomed to do, on Sundays, at whatever place they had touched at during the voyage; and to this they were further encouraged by the pernicious invitations of the natives. It is indeed sometimes extremely difficult, under such circumstances,

Mariner, that if he ever met any common fellow 292
with his head covered, he should immediately 565
knock him down. He[A] was, however, allowed, 626
like other foreigners, to wear a headdress [609]
without any restriction, as being supposed [727]
to be governed by different gods, and accustomed to different manners.

But to return to our subject: it may be noticed 634
that the form of the prince's marriage as 585
here related, and which, for the most part, was 177
according to the Ḥamoa custom, was not very different from that of the Tonga islands; but two parts of the Hamoa ceremony were in this instance left out, viz. the payment of something valuable to the brides' fathers by the bridegroom, such as bales of gnatoo, beads, &c. the brides being virgins: the other part of the ceremony, which in fact was to ascertain whether such payment was justly due, should have been performed by the bridegroom (digito admoto) when he had led his brides back into the house, and re-seated them on the bales of *gnatoo:* but the circumstance alluded to, not being thought by the natives of the Tonga islands consistent with delicacy, was accordingly omitted.

In the evening of the same day, the large 634
house on the *maláï* was lighted up with flambeaus. 585
Singers and dancers of Hapai assem- 177 [431]

glory and honour, telling them at the same 669
time, that death was a thing to be despised,— 702
not to be feared by a brave man, whose name 726
would still live with a lasting life, when his 634
body was buried in the dust. He then dismissed
them, with orders that those belonging
to the northern islands might immediately return
home, but were shortly to proceed to
Haano, the northernmost island of all the Hapais,
and there to wait the arrival of him and
all his southern forces on their way to Vavaoo.

About this time a circumstance happened, 727
which deserves in a particular manner to be recorded, 609
because it evinces a disposition in the 685
natives to act with more justice, mercy, and
discrimination, than what one might otherwise
be tempted to expect. Two boys, about fourteen
years of age, viz. Thomas Eversfield, an
Englishman, and John Roberts, a black native
of Tortola, (both belonging to the Port au
Prince,) were detected stealing a bale of *gnatoo*
from a consecrated house. If they had been [565]
natives, they would instantly have been punished [693]
with death: but the chiefs and matabooles
took the matter into consideration, and
resolved, that, as they were foreigners, and so
young and thoughtless, the offence, this time,
should be overlooked. Nevertheless, to appease 727
the anger of the god, to whom the house 609
685
782

721 was consecrated, it was thought necessary to
609 address him humbly upon the subject. Ac-
685 cordingly, his priest, followed by chiefs and
782 mataboolcs, dressed in mats, with leaves of the *Ifi* tree round their necks, in token of humility and sorrow, went in solemn procession to the house: they sat down before it, and the priest addressed the divinity to the following purpose: "Here you see the chiefs and matabooles that "have come to thee, hoping that thou wilt be "merciful: the boys are young, and being foreigners, are not so well acquainted with our "customs, and did not reflect upon the greatness of the crime: we pray thee, therefore, "not to punish the people for the sins of these "thoughtless youths: we have spared them, "and hope that thou wilt be merciful and spare "us."—The priest then rose up, and they all retired in the same way they came.—The chiefs,
721 and particularly Finow, most severely repri-
609
685 manded the boys, and endeavoured strongly to
[565] impress upon their minds the enormity of the
[634] offence, and that they owed their lives solely to their presumed ignorance of the extent of the crime.—They were both of them heartily frightened.

669 A few days after the review a canoe arrived
[628] from Vavaoo. with a few Hapai people, who were suffered to leave that island at their par-

687 part which this gentleman was appointed to
727 act in the business, two or three no doubt
669 would have been killed, and several wounded,
in the attempt. It must be mentioned that
[784] Cacahoo, owing to his diseased appearance,
was not present at the cava party after the *fono*
(indeed, he was seldom present on any public
occasion, except to fight:) it was resolved,
therefore, that a young warrior, in company
with Mr. Mariner and others, should go and
present him with cava at his residence, as soon
[411] as the above chiefs were seized. Mr. Mariner
was to sit next to him, and was to ask him for
[609] his spear, as if to look at it from curiosity; for
[237] this spear was a remarkably good one, headed
with the bones of the tail of the *fy*, (sting-ray,)
and which he always carried about with him:
Mr. Mariner could take this liberty better than
any one else, as he was more or less acquainted
with him; and being a foreigner, his curiosity
would appear more plausible, and less subject
to suspicion: having got it into his hands, he
was to throw it away, and this was to be the
signal for the seizure. Before Cacahoo had
time to hear of what was going forward at Macave, the appointed party arrived at his house,
and presented him cava. * Mr. Mariner took

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[634] * Mr. Mariner was not, in many instances, a voluntary
supporter of Finow's conduct: but as necessity has no law,

226 month of July, when the natives flock to this
285 plantation for the purpose of catching them,
where having procured a quantity, they take
them home to their families in baskets made of
plaited leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Mahe Boogoo, the chief to whom this valu-
423 able piece of ground belonged, being about to
431 go and reside at the Hapai islands, made a pre-
634 sent of this delightful spot to the king. Mr.
727 Mariner, having now nothing particular in
which to employ himself, the war being at an
423 end, begged of the king to give up this planta-
425 tion to him, that he might amuse himself by
634 seeing it properly cultivated: to this the king,
651 after a little hesitation, consented; when Mr.
609 Mariner requested the farther favour that he
might be exempt from all taxes, that no chief
might despoil his plantation, under pretext of
levying any species of contribution; and this
exemption, he observed, would be no more than
what was consistent with the Tonga custom,
which exacts no contribution from foreigners,
unless indeed it be upon some sacred occasion,
as the ceremony of *inâchi*, &c. To this also
the king gave his assent, upon mutual agree-
ment, that the whole plantation was to be con-
sidered at Finow's service, as being the father
and protector of Mr. Mariner, but that he
would not take any thing nor trespass upon it

634 "in rank, and not like you, alas! great and
764 "mighty in war!"

763 Such were their sentiments and conduct on
304 this mournful occasion. Some, more violent
565 than others, cut their heads to the skull with
such strong and frequent blows, that they
caused themselves to reel, producing afterwards
634 a temporary loss of reason. It is difficult
764 to say to what length this extravagance
would have been carried, particularly by one
763 old man, if the prince had not ordered Mr.
727 Mariner to go up and take away the club from
304 him, as well as two others that were engaged
[609] at the same time. It is customary on such occasions,
when a man takes a club from another,
to use it himself in the same way about his own
head; but Mr. Mariner, being a foreigner, was
not expected to do this; he therefore went up,
and, after some hesitation and struggle, secured
the clubs, one after another, and returned with
them to his seat, when, after a while, they
were taken by others who used them in like
manner.

634 After these savage expressions of sorrow had
been continued for nearly three hours, the
764 prince, having first signified his intentions to
Voona, for reasons before stated, gave orders
that the body of his father should be taken to
[411] Felletoa to be buried. In the first place, a bale

eyes flashed with the fire of rage;—directing 634
them full on Mr. Mariner, he cursed him with 765
the most bitter curse, "strike your god!"— 727
and, rising from the ground, he demanded 827
why he came there?—to which he answered, 777
"Your father would not have asked me that
"question; and I am surprised that you are
"so much unlike him, as to believe in such superstitious
"nonsense." This was too much
for him to bear, particularly before so many of
his men; and snatching up a club that lay near
him, he would have instantly despatched him,
if some of the men present had not pushed Mr.
Mariner out of the house, while the rest held
Finow. Upon this the former wished him
good bye*—said that if he wanted him he
might send for him, adding, that he did not
before know that his presence was so disagreeable.
Several men then came out of the house,
and hurried Mr. Mariner away, lest Finow, before
his passion had time to cool, should pursue
him, and effect some desperate revenge: he
retired, therefore, to a house near the grave.
Shortly after, Finow having consulted with his [609]
men upon the subject of Mr. Mariner's sneezing,
resolved that, as he was a foreigner, and [304]

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who had a superior mind, could not efface from it the depth of the impression.

[*] The expression answering to this in the Tonga language [192]
is *hoo ger nofo*, (and you remain,) and is a phrase always used in taking leave of any one.

634 had different gods, his sneezing was not to be
765 considered of any consequence: they then proceeded
727 to the grave to perform the ceremony
827 of head-breaking, when Finow and all his men,
inspired with enthusiasm, cut and bruised their
777 heads in a shocking manner; Finow in particular,
[609] not contented with the usual instruments,
[304] made use of a saw, the teeth of which he struck
against his skull with such vehemence and goodwill,
that he staggered as he went home with
loss of blood. These scenes need not be further
described; we have already had enough of
them.

Mr. Mariner, immediately after this, proceeded
634 to his plantation, resolving to remain
727 there, and see how long Finow would be contented
without his company. This conduct,
according to the manners and customs of Europeans,
634 appears extremely haughty, arrogant,
727 and presumptuous: for although Finow, in this
576 instance, was undoubtedly much to blame in
putting himself in such a violent rage, and Mr.
Mariner in danger of his life, on the occasion
of an accident which might so easily have happened,
and might have been so difficult to avoid,
yet the latter being so much the inferior, we
might suppose it to be his duty first to ask pardon
for the offence so unintentionally committed:
but this plan would be far from pro-

by his not stirring, and so took no trouble about 727
him. By this time there were about two hundred small canoes near the vessel, and several large ones, so that all the people of Vavaoo seemed to be assembled to view the brig, for the whole beach was also crowded. As the vessel was very short of provisions, a very brisk traffic was carried on with the natives by the captain and mate, for yams, hogs, &c.: hence orders were given to the crew not to purchase
any more trinkets, till they had procured plenty 648
of provisions. About the middle of the day 727
Finow came alongside with his sister and several 634
of her female attendants, bringing off, as a pre- [431]
sent for Mr. Mariner, five large hogs, and forty large yams, each weighing not less than thirty pounds, and some of the largest sixty or seventy pounds: these things Mr. Mariner begged leave to transfer* to the captain, and presented them accordingly. Notwithstanding repeated messages from the chiefs on shore to Finow, requesting him to return, he resolved to sleep on board that night, if the captain would allow
him, which he readily did. The women, how- 727
ever, intimated their wish to return, not liking 609
the thought of trusting their persons among a 648
number of strange men. Mr. Mariner found it

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* It is a very common thing among the natives to transfer a present.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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727 very difficult to remove their scruples, by assuring 609 them that they should not be molested. At 648 length, however, they consented to remain, on his promise to take care of them, and to roll them all up in a sail, in which state they laid the whole night in the steerage; and, as they 648 said, slept comfortably. As to Finow, he was [634] very well contented with sleeping on a sail on the cabin deck. As the weather was remarkably fine, the brig did not come to an anchor, but stood off and on during the whole of the night. At daylight canoes came alongside in great numbers; but from prudent motives, dictated by former disasters, no more than three of the natives were allowed to come on board at a time, six centinels being kept constantly on deck 648 for that purpose. In the canoes were several 634 chiefs, who came to request Finow to return on shore, as the people were greatly alarmed lest he should form a determination of going to Papalangi [279] (land of white people). They brought off some cava for him, but which he declined drinking, saying that he had tasted some on board (wine) which was far preferable: indeed, he considered it so much superior, that the thoughts of cava quite disgusted him. He made a hearty dinner at the captain's table—ate plenty of roast pork, with which he admired very much the flavour of the sage and onions: the fowls

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Foreigners are exempted from all tributes, except 577
those that are for the purpose of religious 565
ceremonies, even though they occupy considerable 431
plantations at Tonga: they also readily [651]
excuse foreigners for not according with their [609]
customs, or not paying respect to their gods;
because, say they, they have gods of their own,
and are not governed by our divinities. When 577
any one is about to eat, he always shares out 264
what he has to those about him, without any
hesitation, and a contrary conduct would be
considered exceedingly vile and selfish. At [609]
meals strangers or foreigners are always shewn [562]
a preference, and females are helped before
men of the same rank, because they are the
weaker sex and require attention. A number 577
of such instances might be given if necessary,
but these, it is presumed, are sufficient to demonstrate
that the people of the Tonga islands
are not only not selfish, but admire liberality,
and are practically liberal.

In such a kind of mind as we have been 771
describing, we may readily suppose that the 888
sentiments of veneration and respect are felt to 565
a considerable degree; and, accordingly, every

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manded; they love to consider them as presents, and this sufficiently demonstrates the universal admiration of the sentiment of liberality. There are no officers appointed to see that the people pay their due quantity.

186 excitement and growth of this passion are not
634 very frequent; nevertheless, in the history of
[721] the war at Vavaoo, we shall discover proofs of
[669] the existence of this noble sentiment, as well as
in the life of Toobó Nuha, and in the death of
the late king, who lamented that he left the
country in a critical situation. The present
king, and his uncle Finow Fiji, are, no doubt,
patriots in the best sense of the word.

Honour is another principle upon which we
577 must speak; but, in regard to which, it is difficult to give the just character of the Tonga
people. That they are honourable, in many
respects, there can be no doubt; and that, in
other respects, they do things which are, seemingly, at least, very dishonourable, there can be
577 as little question. It was agreeable to every
634 generous and honourable sentiment in Teoo
[669] Cava's men, to help him out of the ditch at the
[726] peril of their own lives; or in Mr. Mariner's
four companions, to save him at the same risk.
[609] It was honourable in the late king, who was a
very passionate man, and expected to be obeyed,
to receive in good part, and readily to excuse,
Mr. Mariner's refusal, on many occasions, to
conform to orders that were not consistent with
[669] his principles. It was honourable in the Vavaoo
people to have so much respect for the memory
of their late chief, Toobó Nuha, as to resent his

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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tooas who till the ground, and remain constantly 581
so; the unmarried women, therefore, live prin- [589]
cipally at the mooa, or place where the chiefs,
mataboolés, &c. dwell, and are attendants upon
them or their wives. Girls that are too young
to be marriageable are not taken into account.
Having thus ascertained, as nearly as possible,
the proportion of married women, we shall make
an inquiry how far it may reasonably be sup-
posed they are entitled to the reputation of
fidelity. During the whole of Mr. Mariner's 837
four years residence at one or other of these 727
islands, he had frequent opportunities of inti- 609
macy with the wives of chiefs; for being a fo-
reigner, and a white man, he was free from a 123
great many restrictions to which the natives are
subject: for instance, whenever he pleased he
could go in the houses of Finow's wives, or of
the wives of other chiefs, and converse freely
with them as long as he chose, which was a li-
berty that no male native could take beside the
husband, relations, or the cooks that carried in
the victuals; and from habit they became so
much accustomed to his company and conversa-
tion as to think very little more of his presence
than of one of their own sex, and consequently
he had every favourable opportunity of becom-
ing acquainted with their habits and sentiments,
particularly as one of the old king's wives, his

837 adopted mother, was a woman of very good
sense and unaffected manners, and freely
727 discoursed with him upon all points that related to
609 her happiness, to that of her female acquaintance,
123 or to the condition of the women in general; besides which, it must be recollected, that Mr. Mariner, being upon the greatest intimacy with the principal chiefs, was acquainted with most of their intrigues, which they did not scruple to relate to him, both on account of the confidence they had in him, and his being a foreigner*.

837 With such opportunities of knowing the habits of the natives, relative to the subject in question, Mr. Mariner is decidedly of opinion that infidelity among the married women is comparatively very rare. He only recollects three successful instances of planned intrigue during the whole of his time; one at the Hapai islands, on the part of Voogi, (the young chief mentioned on the occasion of the old king's death,) who was considered the handsomest man at the Tonga islands; and two on the part of the present king, whose high rank and authority

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* This seems an odd reason for placing confidence in such matters; but it arises from this circumstance, that, being a foreigner, he was not supposed to take that interest in their concerns which might lead a native to thwart any conduct which he did not happen to approve of.

784 *táboo*, and must not be eaten until a small portion
be first given to the gods. Any other kind
262 of food may be rendered *táboo* by a prohibition
being laid on it. Fruits and flowers when tábooed
are generally marked to be so, by pieces
of white *tapa*, or a piece of plait, in the shape
784 of a lizard or shark*. To prevent certain kinds
796 of food from growing scarce, a prohibition or
[262] *táboo* is set on them for a time, as after the
ináchi, or other great and repeated ceremonies;
[651] and which *táboo* is afterwards removed by the
ceremony called *fúccaláhi;* but this latter term
is not only applied to the ceremony which removes
the prohibition, but is equally used to
express the duration of the *táboo* itself, and which
therefore is often called the time of the *fúccaláhi.*
During certain ceremonies, as that of the
ináchi and the *fala* (see Vol. I. p. 390), nobody
may appear abroad, or at least in sight, it being
tabooed to do so.

784 Any thing that is not tabooed is said to be
[192] *gnofoba* (i. e. easy, or at liberty), and is a term
used in contradistinction to *táboo.*

[565] When a person is tabooed, by touching a
[788] superior chief or relation, or any thing personally
belonging to him, he will perform the cere-

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[609] * Nevertheless they would not refuse to pluck and eat if Mr. Mariner, or any foreigner not influenced by such superstition, would first remove this external sign of the *táboo.*

[May 18, 1777]

“ ground, which shews that, of the two, wrest- 175
“ ling is their most approved diversion *. Not 648
“ only boys engage in both the exercises, but 526
“ frequently little girls box very obstinately for [857]
“ a short time. In all which cases it doth not
“ appear that they ever consider it as the
“ smallest disgrace to be vanquished; and the
“ person overcome sits down with as much in-
“ difference, as if he had never entered the
“ lists. Some of our people ventured to con-
“ tend with them in both exercises, but were
“ always worsted; except in a few instances,
“ where it appeared that the fear they were in
“ of offending us contributed more to the vic-
“ tory than the superiority of the person they
“ engaged.”

Such is the account we read in Cook's Voy- 114
ages; and the accuracy with which every thing
is stated evinces a spirit of observation and fa-
cility of description deserving of the highest
credit. The last remark which he makes in re- 175
gard to the contention between the English 526
people and the natives is a tolerably just one. 609
The natives themselves mentioned the circum- 114

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* This inference is not correct: the circumstance above alluded to means merely to say, that when a man is knocked down, he may be considered as dead, for it certainly is in the power of the other to kill him if he pleases, and for this season only he has a right to the song of victory.

175 stance to Mr. Mariner, stating, that they allowed
526 the Papalangies to get the victory sometimes,
[609] because they did not like to beat the poor fel-
[114] lows so much. There was probably, at the
same time, a little apprehension of offending
[576] their visitors; for it is certain, that when a man
[201] is engaged singly with a chief much superior to
him, he sometimes allows himself to be beaten, or rather yields out of respect to his opponent; and the sign by which he shews his disposition to do so is a sudden toss of the head on one side, upon which his antagonist immediately re-
526 tires to his seat. There is something admira-
576 ble in the perfect good humour and forbear-
643 ance of temper which is always manifested
on these occasions, sufficiently so to astonish natives of European countries: for on occasions when there is a general combat, (as related p. 207.) even Tooitonga sometimes gets miserably handled by one of the lowest fellows in the island; but nevertheless he retires from the games without the least inimical spirit, although perhaps with his eyes black, his mouth and nose dreadfully swelled, and, it may happen, with his arm broken; all done by a man over whom he has the power of life and death: for it must be observed, that when there is a general combat, no quarter is given on either side.

512 proposed, they retire to rest at sun-set, after
513 bathing and oiling themselves, and even on
372 these occasions the houses are lighted up with
357 torches, during two, three, or four hours after
dark: these torches are held by female domestics.
It cannot be strictly said that they have
574 any fixed times for meals, though it generally
[264] happens to be in the morning, about noon, and
[431] again in the evening; but it depends greatly
[565] upon how the chiefs are occupied, or what presents
[562] have been made to them: it frequently
[609] occurs that several presents come at the same
time from different quarters; then they have a feast: but whatever they have, whether much or little, it is always shared out to all present, each having a portion according to his rank: strangers and females generally obtain somewhat more than is due to their rank. Those who get more than they want never fail to supply others who have not enough: selfishness is a very rare quality among them: if a man has a piece of yam, though it be not enough for a meal, he will readily give half away to any one who may want it; and if any body else comes afterwards in like need, with the greatest good nature he will give half the remainder; scarcely saving himself any, though he may be very hungry.

757 If during the day a chief, mataboole, or
565 mooa, but particularly a chief, finds himself fa-

STORIES

INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and 521
a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable,
humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation [537]
and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is
summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of 828
character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is
quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor 522
which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally
ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great 521
world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the
native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his [609]
accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occasions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. 576 The lowest born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements. Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance, not unmixed with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general 538
term for a tale is *fananga.* An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare* [462]
whananga (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the
Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's Tongan Myths and [887]
Tales (22) are *fananga.* It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old
gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would
also be *fananga.* A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, crea-
tion myths, and the like, is *tala tupua,* which seems to mean either tale of [773]
the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There [555]
is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling. [539]

goes to the island beyond the sky." This is confirmed by other writers (28, 775
38, 40), although other ideas of the road to Pulotu are no less unmistak-
ably found. Sir James Frazer has summed up the published accounts of
burial and mourning ceremonial (20, vol. 2, pp. 84-147.) It is said that [565]
common people were regarded as having no souls; but there seems to be a [774]
difficulty, at any rate among present-day Tongans, in deciding just at what
point of social elevation a man might hope to be eligible for the joys of
Pulotu, and possibly many a man whom his superiors regarded as hopelessly
disqualified nourished a secret hope that he might, after all, inherit the
pleasures and consequence that were denied him amongst mortals.

When a person has died, and is still lying in the house where he died, 764
only those who are *fahu* to him can go into the part of the house which is
about the dead man's head, or can do anything to the upper part of the 767
body. Practical difficulties in preparing the body, should any arise, may be 602
overcome by a *fahu* summoning whom he will to help. The bidding of the
fahu nulifies the tapu. Foreigners are exempt from tapu binding on 764
natives. In especial the persons who attend the bodies of the dead are the 767
haa tufunga, certain *matapule* whose hereditary duty and privilege this is. 602
Tradition makes it clear that this right has been given from one family to 784
another. For a high chief, all who come near the body will be *haa tufunga.* [609]
There are considerable emoluments attached to this rank, or duty, as the
haa tufunga take all the mats which have touched the body and are not 767
buried with it. In practical application there seems to be considerable
modification of rules, and eligibility to perform certain functions is not
always clearly defined, especially in the case of people of humble social rank.

For some time after the *haa tufunga* have performed their duties about
the body of a high chief people are rather shy of them. If they drank
from a cup in a house they would take it away with them. A chiefly girl
has told me that she noticed at the obsequies of a late head of her own
house that the *haa tufunga* all took their own cups with them to avoid em-
barrassment. I have never seen the *nimatapu* (the hands of a person who [784]
has lately touched the dead rendered tapu so that he cannot feed himself)
and I am doubtful if many, even of living Tongans, can have seen it; but
I have heard of one European who has seen it in comparatively recent years.

The children and brothers of a dead man may not approach the body, 763
but his grandchildren may. He is of superior social rank to his children, 593
but not to his grandchildren.
603

Ordinarily the women are busy about the dead. Women wail, more or
less constantly, from the time the death occurs till the body is removed 763
from the house. Men do not stay in the house where the body is lying. At 562
some time after the burial a woman who is *fahu* to the deceased sprinkles
water in the house where he died, and all tapu is thus removed from it. 764

539 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.

184 Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a
576 third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no
574 scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly
276 is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to
183 Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.

829 This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the
177 days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be
643 left to Uvea.

466 When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example
264 building or repairing his boat, the *Akiheuho*, the duty of feeding the car-
823 penters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.

823 Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of
[177] getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition,
[609] but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi matalolea*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

have attempted an intercourse with the natives, but 000
the Captain, unwilling to lose a whole night, in waiting for the day, stood forward in his course for the Friendly Islands. As we passed along the glimmering shores, the Island seemed to extend to the distance of fifteen or eighteen miles.

In about five days, we discovered one of the 122
Friendly Islands, named by the Dutch, who disco- 175
vered it, Middleburg, but known to the inhabitants by the name of Eooa. We kept Eooa on our larboard side, or left hand, in order to fall down on Tongataboo, which, we knew, lay to the right.

The mountains of Eooa, which we discerned, were at a considerable distance; so that we ran the whole day, before we reached the confines of the Friendly Islands; and finding we were not likely to make the harbour till it was dark, we stood off, till day-light. The wind blew briskly as the morning dawned, and the Captain crowded sail to take advantage of it, in order, if possible, to steer down the channel, by day-light, into the bay of Tongataboo.
This name is properly two words, Tonga-Taboo, [103]
signifying Sacred Island, the reason of which will [243]
appear, when we come to shew, that the Priest of this Island, Duatonga, was reverenced and resorted to by all the surrounding Islands.

As we were entering the channel, a canoe ap- [609]
proached us with two persons in it, natives of Eooa, we supposed, through desire of European articles;

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122 but Tongataboo being our object, we stood down
175 the channel in full sail, without attending to them.

609 About ten, the vessel passed an Island, and as it
drew nearer Tongataboo, we discerned the natives
122 flocking down to the beach. The channel was
175 deep and commodious: it narrowed as we advanced up it, and at length, terminated in a small wind-
[133] ing turn, round a point of land, which we doubled
with difficulty.

From a small Island that lay near, we were cheer-
[609] ed by the natives. In a quarter of an hour, the ship
was through the channel, and in an hour after, dropped down into a convenient place for anchorage.

Before we could well come to an anchor, the ship
[609] was surrounded by the natives, who flocked to us
from every adjacent Island. The place, before
which we anchored, was called Noogollefa: it was
near an Island, named Bonghy-moddoo; on which
former navigators pitched their tents, as a convenient spot, on account of its separation from the main
Island, to preserve themselves from being two much
incommoded by the natives.

122 We had not been long at anchor, before we were
175 pleasingly surprised by a visit from two Europeans,
named Benjamin Ambler, and John Conelly. The
563 former said, he was a native of London, the latter, an
Irishman, said, he was born at Cork. They stated,
that they left an American vessel, that came here, preferring to take up their abode at Tongataboo. But

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175 over Eooa, when that celebrated Navigator landed
643 on this Island. By a course of warlike exploits, in
634 which his power over the other chiefs was confirmed,
he became the Dugonagaboola, or principal chief
of Tongataboo. The extensive district of Aheefo,
consisting of the western part of the Island, was immediately under his government, as the Leige Lord;
but the two other districts, into which the Island
was divided, of Ardeo, and Ahogge, were also subject to his control; and Futtafaihe, the Chief of
the former, and Vaharlo, the Chief of the latter,
acknowledged him as their superior.

In order to take a speedy possession of the abode,
175 which Moomooe had generously presented to us,
797 I and four or five of the Missionaries entered the
canoes, soon after they arrived; and taking with us
[609] a stock of useful articles, set off for Aheefo. Many
of the natives were in the canoes, who paddled us
back, behaved very kindly towards us, and plentifully supplied us with cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, &c.

It was dark before we reached the place of our destination. The natives went for some persons to assist in conveying our articles to the habitation designed for us; and we had to wait from ten till twelve, before they returned. Our situation, during this time, was by no means pleasant; as we were only five in number, and were therefore afraid that the natives, through desire of our Articles, might be

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from the Marquesas, according to orders given before she left England, we should, through the favour 175 797
of Heaven, have it in our power to present to the Captain a bright and cheering prospect of future usefulness and success. We consecrated our habitation, as soon as the natives retired, (two excepted, who stayed with us as our guard,) with hymns and praises to our God for all his providential mercies, and our favourable settlement in the Island: and then imploring his continued blessing and protection, committed ourselves to rest, much wearied with the fatigues of the day. A sound and pleasing 175
slumber soon relieved, and refreshed us all: from 797
which we were not roused, till the arrival of numerous 609
visitors, who came to pay us their respects, and 431
indulge their curiosity, awoke us. They all appeared persons of rank, as none came without considerable presents of bales of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of ripe plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. They seemed to consider it a great honour to be permitted to enter our habitation; and were anxious to receive any presents from us.

Placed under the protection of a powerful chief, no one offered to molest us; but all appeared to vie in paying us honour and attention. So many presents were at length made us, of beautiful bales of cloth and mats, that we had not room to deposit them all. The cloth was by no means so contempti- 175
ble as some Europeans may imagine. It was ad- 287

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that speaks." Every one who saw it, went and told 175
his neighbour "Nago* mamattai accoulair." i. e. I
saw the wood speak." The numerous visitors that 797
it attracted to our habitation, wholly employed us 177
from early in the morning till late in the evening.
We were obliged therefore to rise at a very early 175
hour, to unite in our morning devotions before they 797
came to interrupt us. Our visitors, at length, so 609
multiplied, that we were obliged to refuse admittance to many. Every chief came with a large train of attendants; but as they were habited like the rest, we were obliged to behave with attention to all, lest we should, perchance, not distinguish a chief, and so give offence.

Amongst our visitors was Duatonga, or Futtafaihe, 175
who, next to Dugonagaboola, was the most powerful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho, a 643
descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother lost the sovereignty.

Toogahowe, or Dugonagaboola, who was a great

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*Nago is a kind of affix in their language, used very frequently at the beginning of sentences, like now, so, well, &c. in our tongue, in conversation,

175 of Him, that they might love and fear him, and at-
797 tain to his region of happiness. But we found it
[122] impossible to interest them in such a manner, as to
produce any good effect, till we became familiar in
the native tongue.

Whilst making these necessary preparations for
their future instruction, we met with the great ob-
[609] stacle of personal danger. Unprotected by the arm
of power, in a country where there was no civilization to allay, nor law to restrain the ferment of sudden prejudice; we were obliged to separate for our safety, and to become dependents in the families of different chiefs; where, disjoined from the rest, we could with little success attempt to be general instructors.

000 Here therefore another suggestion may, possibly, be of use to every institution for evangelizing the heathen. Send them to countries where law represses violence, and secures men's persons and property from other dangers, except "persecution for righteousness sake." No authentic record remains that even the Apostles went into a situation like that of these islands. They might indeed go where there were no restraints of law; but we no where read of it. They were in no peculiar danger but from persecutors; we read indeed that St. Paul was "in perils of robbers," but to suffer from depredators, and to need "carnal" defence from them, is peculiar to these missions.

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The horrible revenge by tootang was taken more 175
than once, while I was with them. When they 669
found that they were not sufficiently powerful to 726
make a descent to fight them, they would go in a
cowardly manner and cut down a field of plantains
or cocoa-nuts. By acts of revenge, like these, the
enemy were at length reduced to a state of starvation.
Our numbers at Arbai were also so great,
that we were often in extreme distress for provisions.

My father-in-law, Mulkaamair's brother, having a 175
considerable family of his own, I left him, during 797
this time of scarcity, and went to live with a relation
of Futtafaihe, or Duatonga. I wished also to
work myself into a state of independence again;
and he soon put me in the way to it, by giving me
the superintendence of a tract of land. Finding 175
that I had such methods of cultivation, and gave 797
such encouragement to the labourers that the estate
was soon brought into a fertile condition, he placed 634
me over an island in Arbai. Besides the greater [609]
improvements which he thought I should make,
there was another reason why he made me the superintendent
of it: because I was moolee or a
stranger, and such were the national ideas of the
duty of hospitality and forbearance towards strangers,
that this very consideration would preserve the
younger chiefs, as well as the other natives, from
plundering the fruits. But as the event proved, 175
[illegible] 797

175 there were no superabundant fruits to plunder. The
797 number of us was too great for the productions of
the island.

I had reserved, however, a field of plantains for myself, and having my hut placed in the middle, that I might the more effectually guard them, I
[609] preserved them till they were nearly ripe. But so
pressing were the calls of hunger, that I was subject
[685] to several depredations, notwithstanding my character as "moolee," or stranger; and one morning, upon opening my hut-door, I perceived that had I been awakened to defend my plantation from some thieves who had robbed it during the night, I should have been murdered. The traces of human feet and spears on each side the hut, plainly showed that two men had taken their station there with spears ready couched to pierce me as soon as I should come out.

The scarcity of provisions was at length so great,
175 that we were obliged to eat the roots of the plan-
797 tain tree for our subsistence, and to drink the milk
261 of the cocoa-nut, when very unripe. Hunger pro-
[262] voked me to drink such a quantity, that I was for a
[272] time swelled as though I had the dropsy. When pining with hunger, I endeavoured to refresh myself with sleep. But upon awaking, I was scarcely able to rise, from weakness. Many were in this deplorable state, and numbers died through want.
[634] At length I repaired to Loogolala, as well as others, for food.

361 foot. During the dry season, they are quite adequate for
491 foot or horse traffic. Each householder in the village and
[653] each plantation-holder in the bush is responsible for keeping
that part of the road which runs past his house or plantation
487 free from high grass or obstructions. Numerous tracks
361 intersect the village winding from house to house, defined
according to amount of use.

THE PEOPLE

565 The people of Pangai village, as will be stressed through-
621 out these notes, are commoners. Tongan society is today
a stratified hierarchy with royalty and nobles at the top of the
social scale, the common people at the bottom. In some
villages, a high chief or noble[6] has his permanent residence.
In Pangai this is not the case. Pangai island is a royal
estate. The only resident in the village who claims some
[554] modicum of chiefly status is Koloamatangi, overseer of the
estate. He is not a noble but stands with certain limited
[502] authority at the head of the village both because of his
position as overseer and because his position as pilot for the
port of Vava'u brings him sufficient pilot-fees each year to
give him a more than average annual monetary income.
For the rest, the villagers are just Tongans of the commoner
class. Some may hint vaguely at distant relationships to
some noble. In practice all disregard such hints. All think
of themselves as commoners whose job in life is to work the
land, to get what food and money is necessary, to obtain
what pleasures life may have in store for them, to take what
pains with as much fortitude as they can muster. The only
significance of the following notes is that they attempt to
explore some facets of this commoner life that are not yet
adequately defined in published Tongan ethnologies.

CONTACT WITH WHITES

177 The attitude of the villager to non-Tongans is difficult
609 to characterize. Excluding a few half-castes and other
Pacific islanders, the non-Tongans with whom the villager

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565 [6] Within the chiefly class, the present-day Tongan social system
423 distinguishes between nobles and chiefs. Nobles are those chiefs
who retain by royal grant their hereditary lands *(tofia)*. Chiefs are
622 those other members of this class who have not retained any hereditary
lands or estates but yet are chiefs because of their hereditarily-established status.

comes into contact consist of a handful of whites, Asiatics, 177
and Hindus. The Asiatics are mostly Japanese store- 609
keepers, the Hindus tailors, and the whites are store- 177
managers, government servants, missionaries, their wives 609
and dependants. For the Kingdom of Tonga the proportion 563
of Tongans to non-Tongans, according to the police census [162]
of 1937, was about 31 to 1; in Neiafu in 1938, the proportions were more nearly 50 to 1. Tongans therefore make up the large majority of the population. By law, whites, Asiatics, and Hindus may not take up residence in the small Tongan villages; elsewhere they may lease land only. The Pangai villager therefore sees whites in his village only when the government doctor makes an occasional visit. When the villager visits Neiafu he may come into contact with the white doctor or the white postmaster, perhaps with the white store managers (though store-attendants are generally half-caste Tongans), possibly with the few white missionaries or the Asiatics or Hindus (if his business takes him to a Japanese store, requires the services of a Japanese commercial photographer or needs the skill of the Hindu tailor). The villager's knowledge of, and attitudes to, the non-Tongan foreigners stem from his contact with these individuals, from his observations of a few tourists and travellers, and from any further contacts he may have had with these foreigners during residence in, or visits to other parts of the Kingdom.[7]

The general attitude of the villager to foreigners is one 177
of curiosity and interest which gives way to a matter-of-fact 609
acceptance of them and their services (medical, administrative, spiritual, commercial) on the basis of greater familiarity. The villager furthermore tends to reflect a 186
common attitude of pride in being Tongan which is naturally more pronounced in the larger towns of the kingdom. Buried somewhere in his mind is the slogan, "Tonga for the Tongans" which is the expression of this

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[7] It may be noted that there are no discernible influences of either Japanese or British Indian cultures upon village life. The only exception to this was the provision at one feast we attended of two Japanese fans, covered with advertising, for us to use to keep away flies. The Japanese manager of the Japanese-controlled store in Neiafu has a Japanese wife and children. His store sells the usual [366)
run of trade-goods in which all South Seas stores specialize. The Hindu tailor is married to a Hindu wife. He also keeps a small store.

186 pride. He does not think of himself as being a "native," as one who creates burdens for the white man to bear. He thinks of himself first and foremost as a Tongan with various civic and political responsibilities.

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Foreigners are permitted to reside in the kingdom, indeed are welcome in the towns, because of specific technical skills and training which are vitally necessary at the present time to provide the mass of the Tongan population with various social and governmental services which the Tongan state wishes its citizens to enjoy. Foreigners therefore, are thought of more as advisors than controllers, very necessary advisors in a very complex world which the Tongan feels himself unable as yet properly to understand, let alone to play in it an independent role. Significant of this attitude [144] is the fact, for instance, that whereas white doctors are thought of as advisors to the Tongan health service (and practitioners with special skills too), the burden of providing these health services is conceived as falling on Tongans who have been trained as medical practitioners in Suva. These Tongans are officially known in Tonga as "Tongan Medical Practitioners"; elsewhere in the Pacific, Polynesians and Melanesians who have received similar training in Suva are known simply as "Native Medical Practitioners." The social distance between being a "native" and being a "Tongan" may not be particularly relevant for the more obtuse foreigner resident in Tonga. To the Tongans, those two words mean all the difference between being a subordinate people on the one hand and being theoretical masters of their own bailiwick on the other. In this connection, the term "theoretical" is used advisedly. Realistic insight into the ultimate nature of the functioning, and not merely formal, control of the Kingdom of Tonga quickly suggests that the invisible hand that guides the destiny of this Kingdom is definitely white in colour, and not a Tongan brown—were the colour visible!

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In the attempt to characterize further the attitudes of villager to whites, it is also difficult to distinguish between the attitudes toward familiar whites on the one hand and to us as strangers on the other. Our arrival in Pangai was greeted with a mixture of reserve, suspicion, curiosity, interest. Suspicion was probably the most important

element in the mixture. This was the first time that whites 177
had ever thought to stay in Pangai. Suspicion of motives 609
was therefore natural. It was only after some days that 123
suspicion was supplanted by the acceptance of familiarity
and we could slip into the everyday activities of the village.
Some, however, even to the end, appeared dour and unresponsive.
We had in fact the very definite impression that [157]
compared with some other Polynesian peoples, the Tongan
villager was much less open-hearted and communicative than
his kinsmen in other Pacific islands.

The average villager seems to have little personal 177
acquaintance with any white people in Neiafu. He may 609
recognize the doctor by sight, or one of the store-managers. 563
His relations with them will consist in an exchanged greeting
as he passes them on the road. With the postmaster in
Neiafu his relations will be freer. This white man has lived
in Tonga for many years, speaks Tongan fluently, acts also
as customs-officer, deputy-treasurer, occasionally as acting-governor
for Vava'u. He is friendly with the Tongans and
they are friendly with him.

Intermarriage between whites and Tongans in Neiafu 563
is rare, although, to judge by the number of half-castes that one meets, it has occurred frequently in the past. Reason for this rarity is that now most of the whites coming to Tonga bring their wives with them. Half-castes tend to marry into other half-caste families. The addition of white blood to Tongan ancestry seems to interest the villager little. A very few of the villagers are known to have had one or more white grand- or great-grandparents. The matter is unnoticed and is hardly worth a comment to the villager unless some enquiring white is seeking information. This intermarriage in the past has always been of white men with Tongan women. This fact, taken in conjunction with the numerical proportions of Tongans to whites in the Kingdom, may hold the key to an understanding of some of the factors of social change and stability noted in the following sections of this report.

Most of the contact between villager and whites today 177
is carried on by village men. This applies particularly to 609
Protestant men. Few if any of the Protestant women have 795
come into even the most formal of contacts with white men

177 609 795 [484] [872] or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass. The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

177 609 291 (797) This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

177 [157] Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-contact women are more conservative than men in taking over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu, 651 wards most disastrous results, and led to a lawsuit which, though amusing enough in the facts it brought to light, wasted seventeen days of valuable time. I felt bound to compromise the matter in the most advantageous manner possible, and to content myself by making the trader sign a bond which left the Government quite free as to the amount of copra they delivered, and allowed them to receive money for taxes after January 1, four months hence. I had many times to curse Tukuaho's naïveté and good-nature when I saw taxpayers turned away from the tax-office windows with money in their hands, and carts full of copra passing the Government sheds on the way to the traders', while the Treasury safes were nearly empty.

609 During the next few days it was clear enough that, friendly as my colleagues were, the people did not care to 563 conceal their distrust. This was easily explained. The white traders as a body were quiet, law-abiding men, but there was the usual proportion of malcontents who are "agin any Guv'ment." If these people must have a Government, they infinitely prefer a purely native one, which allows them opportunities unattainable when a countryman of their own is at the head of affairs. Some of these, fearing that my presence would upset their pet schemes of abolition of the poll-tax on Europeans and the Customs dues, had been telling the natives that I had been sent to [186] Tonga to smooth the way for annexation. This is the one [829] story that every Tongan will believe, even though a white man has told it to him, and I knew that it would take 793 months of hard work to live it down. The Free Church 798 ministers, moreover, had not been idle, and their per-
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sistent misrepresentation of me as a champion of the 793 798
Wesleyans had contributed to the popular suspicion. The 645
manners of the average Tongan to a white man whom he 609
dislikes and does not fear leave much to be desired. I 576
found myself jostled off the road by men on horseback,
and subjected to many other petty annoyances. All this 645
had to be borne good-temperedly if my mission was to 609
be successful; and I knew that in a few months I could
succeed in changing the hostility and suspicion into
friendliness.

My first task was to inspire the chiefs with confidence: 645
the people would follow their lead all in good time. As 622
soon, therefore, as we were installed in our new house, I
invited Fatafehi, the king's grandson, to visit me. This 644
chief enjoys a far higher degree of rank than his relationship 622
to the sovereign would confer upon him, for he is a 554
chief of the spiritual line; and now that the office of Tui 643
> Tonga has been abolished, and Christianity has removed
the superstition by which the descendant of the Immortals
was surrounded, he enjoys the highest consideration
in the kingdom after the king. To him alone, besides the [195]
king, is used the peculiar language of respect by which
the deity is addressed. Of the curious polity of Tonga [128]
before the introduction of Christianity I shall speak hereafter.

Although hedged by divinity, Fatafehi bears his honours 644
with great ease and good-humour. He has a jolly round 622
face, fringed with grizzled whiskers and moustache; and
his kindly expression and burly figure give him the appearance
of a gentleman farmer when times were good. He
is, moreover, almost the only Tongan who, in dress clothes,

645 were still in a good humour, we were to urge upon him
[643] the necessity of returning to Tongatabu to hold a great
[651] meeting of the people, and order them to pay their taxes.
[624] We sat on far into the night, discussing our plan of cam-
[625] paign between the bowls of kava, until the Head Jailer
[203] and the Sub-Inspector of Police, both malcontents, came
in, ostensibly to do us honour, but in reality to hear us
[203] talk and spread the news. But when they had all gone
Peter's moon-face clouded, and he whispered his dire
208 tidings into Tukuaho's willing ear. The town was sus-
829 picious and uncomfortable. "Tukuaho sits all day with
● 609 the white man writing. Let them write on. The coun-
186 try will not be lost to us by writings. There will be war
before that happens."

645 only the women had been impressed, but now the men's
186 set faces relaxed, and there was a chorus of "*Malo!*")
645 But that was not all. There were some perhaps who
797 loved the man who was gone. Well—he was not there to
speak ill of the absent, but he would say this, that the
accounts were now being audited, and that some very
strange things were coming to light. Did they think that
any Tongan could thread the dark passages of such
645 cunning? No. The king knew that when he asked for a
[643] white man to be sent to audit the accounts, and to make
[609] the dark ways plain. He was present, sitting at his side.
(I tried to look unconscious.) In six short months he
would leave them: it would be useless for them to ask
781 him to stay longer—he could not. But he (Tukuaho) was
there to-night to speak of his soul, and not of politics.
What had politics to do with a church in which before
God all men were equal? It was true that his soul was
pained, but he had at least the comfort of knowing that
he was doing his duty.

634 Before the applause had subsided Fatafehi was on his feet. "I hear that you are all angry with me. Very well: that's your affair. But what is it about?" He laughed—not his hereditary laugh, but a less pleasant sound. "I will tell you why you are angry," he went on, and lashed the mischief-makers with great vehemence, not even deigning to end his speech with a devotional peroration.

796 "There will be less foolish talk to-morrow," said
645 Tukuaho as we came away. "It was a good *bolotu*, only
I am sorry that Fatafehi's words were so hot."

203 As soon as we reached home the spies were set in
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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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their juxtaposition an inextinguishable hate in the breasts 563
of their proprietors. Flung together in this outer corner 441
of the world, the Europeans did not scruple to slander [609]
one another to the natives, a fact that would alone suffice to account for the low estimation in which Europeans are held in Tonga. A wicked slander has it that no fresh meat can be eaten in Vavau because a sheep is too much for one family, and no man is on good enough terms with his neighbour to ask him to share with him. These men are nearly all substantial traders. Living harder lives, and dealing with a more energetic class of natives, than their compatriots in Tongatabu, more than one of the Germans could, if he sold out, realise £20,000, made in a few years from a wretched little store built and furnished without capital. The Englishmen, here as elsewhere in the Pacific, were behind the Germans in wealth, as they were in industry and frugality, and as they were before them in the faculty of meddling in the local politics.

I found that for once there was something resembling unanimity among the traders of Vavau, who were generally too busy to care about politics, and paid their taxes without grumbling. The "Chamber of Commerce," revived in Tongatabu for the joint object of worrying the new Government and of helping the insolvent publican by holding their thirst-provoking meetings at his hostelry, had lately sent a delegate to their brothers of Vavau to invite their co-operation. The unwonted excitement of a public meeting and a real live political agitation was so new, that for the moment personal enmities were laid aside. There were even suggestions by some wild enthusiast that a

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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694 Hardly had the king returned when a new task was
563 thrust upon my collar-galled shoulders. The contractor for the tax-copra, to whom I have before alluded, brought an action against the Government in the High Commissioner's Court to recover damages for the losses he had sustained through over-estimating the amount of copra the taxpayers would bring in. To the Tongans, knowing nothing of civil jurisdiction, the position of defendant in a court of law has mysterious terrors. "Here," they said, "is the fruit of this new Government! We are to be haled to court and punished for the sins of Tukuaho and his foreign adviser. We shall be fined, and then a man-of-war will come and perhaps seize the country." There being no counsel within reach, I had to conduct the case in person. I felt sure enough of my ground to promise the king a victory, or at least that, in the event of defeat, I would myself pay whatever damages were given against us; and this confident assurance went far to dispel his alarm: but the case occupied seventeen precious days at a time when they could least be spared. Yet our victory afterwards proved to be almost worth the waste of time, for the fickle mind of the Tongans leans ever to the winning side, and our contractor unwittingly gained us many adherents in Parliament.

793 The Free Church ministers, aghast no doubt at the
645 portent of the election of four Wesleyans to represent
609 Nukualofa, now shot their last bolt. They began to
[798] preach against me in the pulpit. Early one Monday morning a letter written in Fijian was handed to me with great secrecy by a mounted messenger from Hihifo, who had followed me about until he found me alone. It

was from an old Fijian friend of mine, who wrote to tell 793
me that in two pulpits at least I had been the text for 645
the sermon of the previous day. One preacher, after 609
describing the distrust with which my arrival had inspired him, said, "We hear a great deal about stealing and embezzlement. What? Do foreigners never steal? This one who guides our Government has stolen 7000 dollars from the Treasury, and who knows how much more of our money he will take? In the sermon of the other there was a passage not less startling. "When the theft became known the foreigner went to Tukuaho and said, 'Who told the people this?' And Tukuaho said, 'It was Sateki. You know his way: let a matter be ever so secret, Sateki will find it out.' Hearing this the foreigner was silent and cast down."

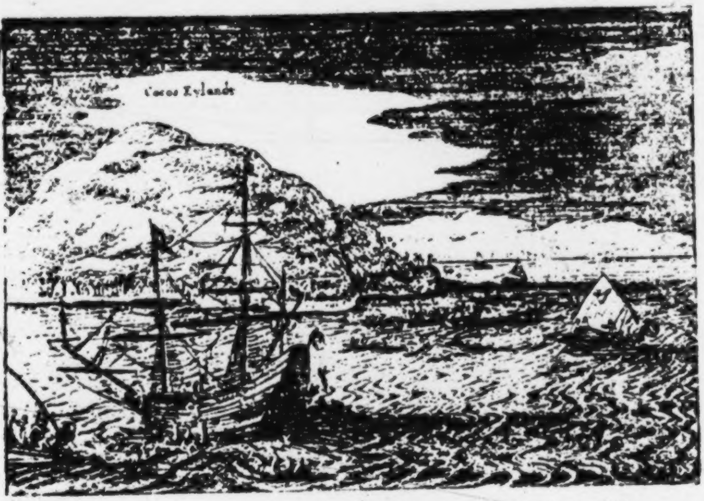
I put the matter in Tukuaho's hands. The police made inquiries, and traced the story to its source in the fertile
brain of the first preacher. The Cabinet decided that [694]
policy demanded a prosecution for slander, but that if the [696]
man was convicted I might obtain a pardon for him from the king. This course was taken. The incident was instructive in the light it threw upon the estimation in which Europeans are held in Tonga. No calumny against them is thought too gross to be ridiculous. The responsibility for such a state of things must rest upon those Europeans—missionaries as well as laymen—who have stooped to defame one another to the natives.

The High Commissioner, in H.M.S. Cordelia, now 609
appeared upon the scene. It chanced that the gunboat 648
Goldfinch, bound from Rarotonga to Fiji, had put in on the preceding day in search of coal, knowing nothing of the

609 648 Cordelia's visit. Tongans never admit coincidences. I was asked for explanations and gave them, but my questioners shook their heads gravely, and spread it abroad that the gunboat had been sent by the High Commissioner to prepare his way, but that for his own purposes "the expounder" had chosen to shroud the truth in mystery. Since this self-deception was more likely to do good than harm, I made no effort to belittle the importance of [643] Sir John Thurston's visit. The king received him with effusion, and had evidently lost all uneasiness about the ulterior objects of his coming. An amendment to the treaty between Great Britain and Tonga was to be signed, and I found myself in the odd position of representing a foreign Government in negotiations with my chief—being, in fact, at the same time an officer in the English and the 609 645 123 Tongan services. The presence of the Cordelia had a curious effect upon my relations with the king and my colleagues. They seemed suddenly to remember that I was not one of them, and the old confidence between us gave place to an almost imperceptible constraint, which, as soon as the ship sailed, disappeared as suddenly as it 000 had come. To Sir John Thurston, who remembered the anxieties that had beset him a year before, the visit must have brought that satisfaction which is the reward of every one who, having chosen one of two opposite courses, finds that it was the wisest as well as the most courageous.

175 643 in Hihifo. At first probably he was the mouthpiece or messenger of the higher chiefs, their Chancellor and perpetual Prime Minister; but the power was destined to grow until it overshadowed the dignity of the heaven-descended Tui Tonga himself.

175 177 609 [501] In Ngata's reign the Tongans first heard of a world outside their own. On May 16, 1616, the two high-pooped Dutch ships of Schouten and Lemaire anchored at Niua-tobutabu. To the fierce inhabitants they were no visitants from the world of spirits, but men like themselves, possessed of property worth seizing. Under colour of selling cocoa-nuts to the crew they tried to carry off a boat; and one of them was shot dead before they would desist. They then made a general attack upon the ship,

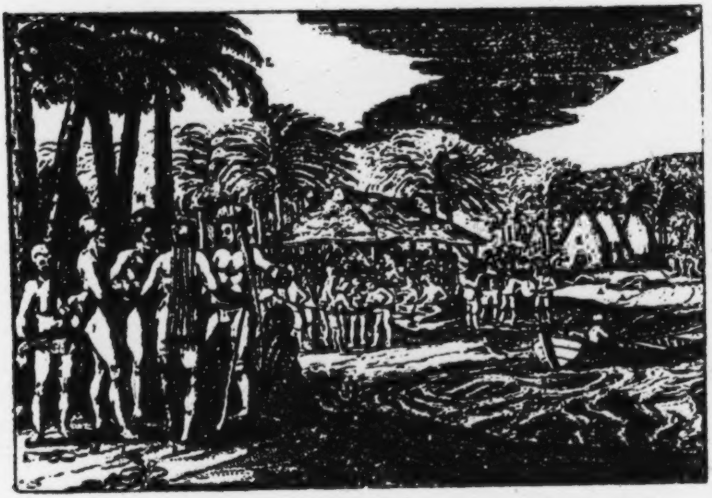


The discovery of Niua-tobutabu by Schouten and Lemaire, 1616.
Vide Appendix II. ^
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/
^

and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was 175
learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with 177
safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a 609
rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very
hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that 175
the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided 177 361
by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood [311]



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Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, *showing ancient mode of wearing the hair.* *Vide* Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--Analyst/

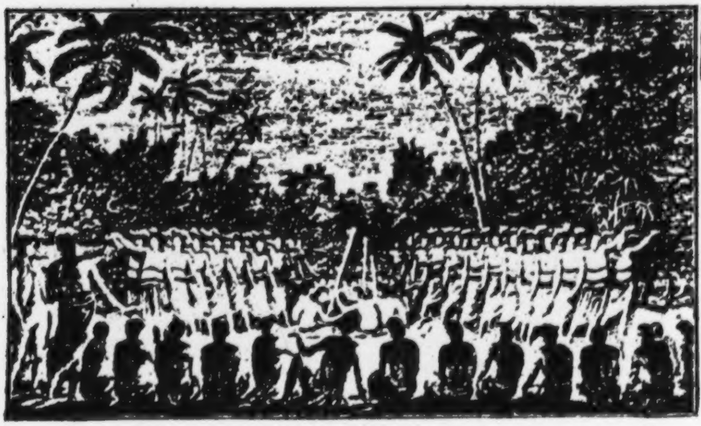
175 definition, elevated Finau to the dignity of Commander-
177 in-Chief.

642 Anxious to keep the visitors to himself, Finau showed
175 them the most lavish hospitality at Haapai, and did all in
177 his power to persuade them to visit Vavau. But the Tui
609 Tonga, attracted by the accounts of the priceless posses-
sions of the strangers, now arrived, and invited them to
become his guests at Tongatabu. Finau, nothing abashed
at having fallen in his visitors' estimation, followed in his
own fleet, and encamped on the shore opposite the little
island of Pangaimotu, where the ships were anchored.

The white men were not always conciliatory. The peas-
ants, or serfs, were a noisy, uncouth set, who, when unre-
strained by their chiefs, treated the strangers with scant
respect, and robbed them whenever they had an oppor-
[554] tunity. In their eyes a successful theft was an achieve-
[565] ment to be boasted of rather than a crime; and as a serf
has no soul, it was a matter of indifference to the chiefs
how they were punished. Thieves were flogged almost
daily on board the ships without disturbing the friendli-
ness of Finau in the least; indeed he himself recom-
[151] mended this punishment. An officer wrote in his journal:
"One was punished with seventy-two lashes for stealing
only a knife; another with thirty-six for endeavouring to
carry off some drinking-glasses; three with three dozen
each for throwing stones at the wooders; but, what was
still more cruel, one man, for attempting to carry off an
axe, was ordered to have his arm cut to the bone, which
he bore without complaining." As no such punishment
as seventy-two lashes was allowed in the navy at that
time, and the writer was so evidently hostile to his com-

mander, it is probable that the severity of the punishments has been exaggerated. 175 177 609

The chiefs owed their visitors no gratitude. Every present they had received, every condescension shown to them, had been repaid by liberal gifts of provisions. The ships were filled with treasures as precious in their eyes as gold would have been in the eyes of their visitors, and in a few days they would sail away never to return. Why,



[535]
[516]

A bo-mée *or night-dance at Haapai, June* 1777. (From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

they thought, should they not prevent this? For the details of the conspiracy they had recourse to Finau, who had seen more of the white men than any of the others. Preparations had already been made for the assemblage of a vast concourse for the performance of dances in honour of the visitors: what would be easier than to fall upon the white men during a night dance by torchlight, conceal the bodies, and, when a party came from the ships to look for

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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175 their commander, to lead them inland and massacre them? 177 The ships thus weakened would be an easy prey. But 609 Finau thought that the attempt should be made by daylight, lest, in the confusion caused by the darkness, they should fail in boarding the ships. When he found that the majority were disinclined to adopt his advice, Finau declared that he would have nothing to do with the scheme, and it was reluctantly abandoned. On Tuesday, June 17, Cook and his officers attended the dances without suspicion, surrounded by nearly 10,000 natives, who, if the signal had been given, would assuredly have succeeded in massacring the whole party.[1] The gathering of so vast a crowd in the neighbourhood of the ships could not fail to produce disorder. There was a scarcity of food, and the parties landing for wood and water were insolently plundered. Several turkeys were stolen, and for the first time Cook determined to hold the chiefs responsible for the acts of their serfs. He landed with an armed guard, and without any warning put Finau and Maealiuaki, the Tui Kanokubolu, under arrest in their own house. A number of armed men now assembled with the evident intention of attacking the guard, but Finau, concealing his feelings, ordered them to disperse, and despatched messengers to recover the turkeys. As soon as these returned with the birds the guard was withdrawn, and their friendly relations were resumed. They still dined on board, and continued to send provisions to the captain. But when, a few days later, the muskets of one of the shore parties were stolen, and Cook proceeded on shore to repeat his policy, he found that the chiefs had wisely with-

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[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

drawn, and it was not until he had given them solemn 175
assurances of their safety that they consented to return. 177
The stolen arms were eventually recovered through the 609
medium of the chiefs, who were not in the least concerned that one of the thieves, who had been wounded with a ball, was not expected to live.[1]

Cook now prepared to leave Tonga, but contrary winds 175
detained him long enough to witness the ceremony of the 177
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643
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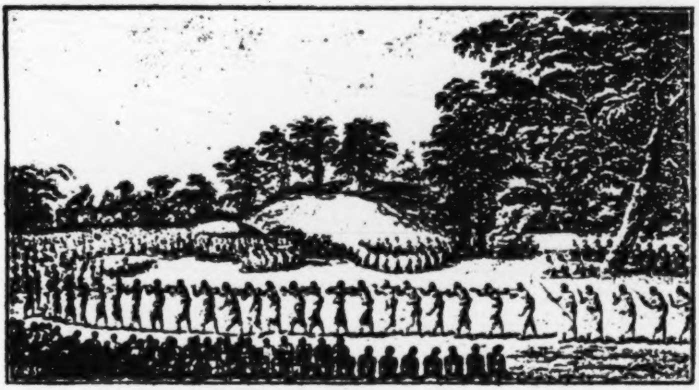
[535]



The great inaji *at which Captain Cook was present, June 1777.*
(From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

inaji, or the presentation of the first-fruits to the gods in the person of the Tui Tonga, their representative on earth. The ceremonial, the dresses, the wooden symbols for the yams, puzzled him extremely. Though forbidden to approach, he forced his way into the inner circle that surrounded the Tui Tonga, and was allowed to remain on the

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[1] This man was seen alive and well sixteen years later by D'Entrecasteaux-Labillardière.

175 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans,
177 then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their
609 manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws
643 committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he
782 set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months
later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence
in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom
he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped
to engender.

It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and
175 178 Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should,
721 twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found
practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What
internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt
a change? Native traditionary history supplies the
175 answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan
177 character.

178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular
intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans
for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga
[144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the
great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure
stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a
[171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The
Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the
family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at
perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation
than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But
generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of
the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm
[313] [505] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

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175 Haapai, could not as yet interfere in the affairs of Tonga-
643 tabu. As soon as the office of Tui Kanokubolu became
[634] vacant by the death of Mulikihaamea, Tukuaho successfully schemed for the election of his father Mumui to the title, that he himself might wield the power. His father was already so old that he could not long stand in his way. Meanwhile a bitter jealousy sprang up between Finau and Tukuaho, none the less bitter that it was concealed. It was unfortunate for their country that the two men should have existed in the same generation. Both ambitious, both unscrupulous, both of inflexible purpose, the tiny stage was not large enough for both to play their parts, and a struggle to the death was inevitable.

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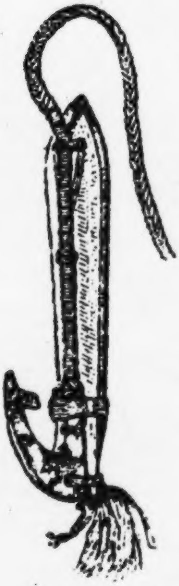

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[609]

The Tui Tonga's fish-hook.

At this juncture the ship Duff, fitted out by the London Missionary Society, landed nine artisan missionaries, who attached themselves to various chiefs, and were thus enabled to record the events of the most stirring times in Tongan history. Unfortunately for themselves, they quarrelled with two runaway sailors who had landed some months before them, and were already in high favour with the chiefs; and these men lost no opportunity of damaging them with the natives, by representing their religious services as witchcraft designed to destroy them,—a statement to which a prevailing epidemic among the chiefs gave colour.

175 enemy, making a sudden rush, surrounded the twenty
669 people who formed his guard and overturned the litter.
They gave no quarter to his companions, three of whom
were women; and while they hesitated to slay so great a
chief, a man ran up crying, "Kill him!" and upon the
175 sudden impulse he was clubbed where he lay. After the
669 death of their leader the rebels made no further stand,
797 and the Royalists pursued until they reached Haateiho,
609 where three of the missionaries, who had declined to accompany
either army, were still living. They had been
warned by the fleeing rebels to come with them, but,
trusting in their known neutrality, they preferred to
remain to protect their houses. Among the Royalists
was a man to whom they had refused an axe which
he coveted. Calling to his companions, this man set
upon them, clubbed them, and looted their house.

175 Tired of pursuit, the Royalists returned and found that
669 the rebel outpost had succeeded in driving off the few
men who had been left to keep them in check, and were
trying to succour their wounded. They now set off in full
flight for the coast, pursued by the victors. On their way
they met Finau's contingent, who had just disembarked.
175 By their direction they continued their flight, drawing the
669 enemy across the beach towards the canoes. Suddenly
565 they turned and fell upon their pursuers, who, taken by
727 surprise, dropped Ata's litter and took to flight. There
was now a debate as to what should be done with their
prisoner, who was related to one of the chiefs who had
captured him. This chief, unwilling to seem partial to
an enemy, wished them to kill him, but his attendants
insisted that, out of respect for himself, the prisoner's life

nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between 175
the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunt- 669
ing expeditions. 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafuli- 175
muloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's 669
eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui 643
Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within
their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior;
and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed
chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his
own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises.
Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and
Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in [167]
voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing [712]
that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual
predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress on the hill at Nukualofa.

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened 175
Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au- 609
Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr 669
Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were
mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation
was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the
ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr [727]
Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom
he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted
for a most charming book of travel.[A]

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by 175
English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's 669
fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead 725
of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- [713]

[A] /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this account -- Analyst/

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also called, the son of Mulikihaamea, who was temporal 175
sovereign before Mumui. He had married Kananga, a 797
granddaughter of Mumui, who had just borne him a son, 634
Tungi,[1] who was through his grandfather, Mulikihaamea, the representative of the Tui Haatakalaua. Fortunately for Lawry's influence, in November 1823 a young chief named Futakava, who had been taken to New Zealand and Sydney by a passing vessel, returned to Tonga. They had treated Lawry's accounts of the wonders of [609]
foreign countries with scepticism, but they did not think [829]
of doubting the evidence of one of their own countrymen, even when, after the manner of travellers, he indulged in exaggeration. But before Lawry could expect to reap the fruit of his labours he left the islands. His stay of fourteen months served, however, to pave the way for his successor.

In 1826 two Tahitian teachers landed at Nukualofa 175
and began to hold services; and two months later a 797
Mr Thomas, despatched by the Methodist Society in [634]
England, landed at Hihifo, and put himself under the protection of the chief Ata. For some months he had to contend against opposition, but in 1827 the spirit of curiosity was so far awakened in the natives as to make it safe for him to hold services in Nukualofa. At 175
the close of the previous year Tubou, a half-brother of 643
the murdered Tukuaho, was elected Tui Kanokubolu, and formally installed. It has been said that he was elected as a bribe to wean him from his leanings towards the new faith; but a comparison of the dates of his appointment and Mr Thomas's arrival makes it more

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[1] Speaker of the Assembly, and Tukuaho's father.

the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate 175
woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they 634
hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit- 797
houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration 798
that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties.

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the Astrolabe anchored 175
at Pangaimotu,[1] and was attacked by a party of natives, 177
who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being 609
disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and
knowing the evil character the people had earned in
their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island
for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the
year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of
de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put
in for a few days to secure interpreters.

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji[2]), who 175
now held independent sway over Vavau, following Tau- 634
faahau's example, had also written for a missionary; but 797
his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he
soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Tau- [628]
faahau visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes,
on political business, and took that opportunity for
attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour.
It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail
back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary
whether it would be safe to promise Finau a
missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods.
Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack.
Being before all things practical, Finau determined to 175
give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally 634
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[1] Near Nukualofa.

[2] Described by Mariner.

[1853]

175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he
became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1880.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George embarked
643 for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England.
The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the
largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring
her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped
that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was
become a terror throughout the group, would cow his
enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the policemen.
177 One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers
had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and
he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a
status in the country that would sooner or later affect his
own independence. He now found that in Sydney land
could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the
hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of
Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and
he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
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breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried 175
to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been 177
well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly de- [181]
sirous of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They [141]
were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. [291]
Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied [302]
up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island [481]
lies in lat. 16° 10′. [131]

On the 12*th*, in the morning, trading was reopened. We
bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some
water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and
every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent [136]
a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the after- 175
noon the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned 177
as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was ac- 622
companied by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was
called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums [534]
and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen
or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who [609]
accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping
their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13*th*.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an
armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to
trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the [501]
former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to
the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the
chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great 175
force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began 177 622

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[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title *Ratu*. 609

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[1616]

175 to sling stones at us; but we shot at them with muskets and
177 three great pieces loaded with nails, whereat they leaped over-
622 board, not knowing whither to go. But we continued our course,
609 sailing W. and W. by S. This king must have assembled all
[142] his forces, for we were surrounded by quite 1000 people afloat,
of whom one we noticed was wholly white.

The first island—the high one—we called Cocos bergh, and to the other, about a mile from it, we gave the name of Verraders Eylandt, because the people from it sought to betray us.

[Discovery of Niuafoou.]

14*th*.—This morning we saw another island right ahead of us,
175 about seven miles distant, appearing as if round in form, and by
177 our reckoning about fifty miles from the islands we had left.
We named this one "Hope," and hurried towards it, in the hope that we might find better facilities for watering there than we had hitherto.

. . . The soundings were irregular, forty, twenty, thirty fathoms, and no bottom. . . . Twelve canoes came off: were friendly. They gave us four flying-fish, and we gave them beads. Sent the boat along shore for water: some jumped overboard from canoes to capture the boat, which seeing, we fired six musket-shots at them, and two were killed, one shot dead, while the other sat in the canoe wiping the blood from his chest with his hand. They could not understand the shooting, for they saw no missile. The people on shore cried out *Bou! bou! bou!* So did people in the canoes. Finding no anchorage, we got our boat in and went on our course, in the hope of soon finding other land, to the S.W.

[132] The island was full of black cliffs, green on the top, and
[137] black, and was full of cocos-trees and black earth. There
[361] was a large village and several other houses on the sea-shore:
the land was undulating, but not very high. We called it Good Hope, because we had had good hope of refreshing there.

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hostages
177 on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[481] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[343] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts
along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and
12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of
the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony.
Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and
were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

SUMMARY AS TO THE PLATES REPRODUCED IN THE TEXT.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea,
off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just
out of sight to their S.W.

[501] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they
sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to
[131] reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands:
lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the
natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

175 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several subjects
177 described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs
291 are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are
301 introduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of head-
302 dress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the
342 drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside
344 of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are
622 making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once.
276 The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as
609 types of dwellings.
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[1616]

Explanation of Plate on p. 311.

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A. Meeting of the two chiefs, welcoming one another with remarkable ceremony. [622]

B. The same two chiefs sitting in state together on two mats under a thatched shed. [516] [344]

C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the chiefs, from which they derived great satisfaction (or took as a great compliment).

D. Commoners chewing a green root called by them kava. When it is chewed up water is added to it, and thus a drink is made from it, which is greatly esteemed by them. [276]

E. Shows the fashion of the houses. They are round and pointed, and covered with thatch. [342] [291]

F. Shows the costume of a chief, and coiffure. [301]

G G. Shows the plaits of hair worn by chiefs. [302] [622]

H. Shows an instance of frizzed hair. [142]

I. Another, whose hair stands up stiff like the bristles of a pig, more than a quarter of an ell long. [302]

K. Shows how the women wear their hair cut short. [302]

L. Are cocoa-nut palms. [137]

[APPENDIX III.

The town was asleep in the sun; its trim, 361
grassy streets stretching away inland were utterly 363
deserted; it was like a toy town, fresh-painted from the shop before the miniature inhabitants have been taken out of their packing box. Nukualofa is, indeed, unlike any other town in the world. Not long ago a friend of mine encountered an American tourist, just landed from a steamer, gaping at a street corner where four ways meet, and asked him what he was looking at. "Sir," he replied, "they tell me that this is the business quarter of this capital, and I'm going to watch these four grass-walks till I see a human being. But I've wasted ten minutes, and I'll have to give it up."

We were boarded by my friend, Dr. Donald 609
Maclennan, who, as the only practitioner in the group, is the hardest-worked man in Tonga. He has had a remarkable career. A Scotsman, educated in Canada, he practised first in San Francisco and afterwards in Hawaii, where he became a close friend of the native queen and the royalist party. When the Revolution of 1893 resulted in annexation by the United States, he made a tour round the Pacific islands without a definite intention of settling, and chanced to reach Tonga when the government was in desperate need

609 of a medical officer. He accepted the post temporarily and has remained ever since, having by his skill, his independence, his distaste for politics, and his unselfish and fearless devotion to duty, inspired extraordinary confidence in the king, the people, and the Europeans — a feat which no foreigner has ever accomplished before.

000 It being necessary that we should take up our quarters on shore, we accepted Dr. Maclennan's hospitality with an alacrity that was almost indecent, since we knew, and he did not, the tax that we were to levy upon him. He had to submit to our society, to endless interruptions from messengers, and to an invasion by the entire court retinue on a memorable night when he was kept up till half-past two to witness the signing of the treaty in his dining-room. But he bore it all with untiring good humour to the end, and buried us beneath a load of obligation that would weigh very heavily upon me if he were conscious of it.

648 If any of us flattered himself that the town would wake up when it learned of our arrival, he was disappointed. Flags, it is true, fluttered up to the head of every staff, but the beach and the streets were still deserted. At three o'clock we ran the Tongan ensign to the mast-

law, in a French-looking uniform with a cocked 644
hat; Sateki, greyer and more care-lined than of 645
old, and the two uniformed aides-de-camp, both
famous cricketers in my day, but now inclining
to obesity. Towering above all was the king, 643
something over six feet in height and so broad
in proportion that he cannot weigh much less
than twenty stone. His tight uniform tunic,
which enhanced his bulk, was covered with
orders, which on closer examination proved to
be the various classes of some Tongan decoration
instituted by himself, designed by a jeweller
in Sydney, and not yet bestowed upon lesser
men. He has a broad, intelligent, good-humoured [142]
face, with black, languid eyes, and a strong family
likeness to his kinsman, poor Tukuaho. His [157]
manners are scarcely less genial and engaging, [186]
though he has not much taste for the society [609]
of Europeans, who cannot help feeling in his
company *qu'il ne montre jamais le fond du sac.*
Of his intelligence it is enough to say that, [191]
though he has never been abroad save for a
few weeks spent in Auckland, he speaks English
fairly well and reads the English newspapers;
that he conducts his own correspondence with
a typewriter, and can write Pitman's system of
shorthand with facility. Though there are said

000
been neglected by the Germans. The second 648
matter was more important, Tonga had made 609
three treaties, ceding her jurisdiction over the 692
subjects of the Powers concerned to their respective consuls, but, inasmuch as England only had a consular court in the group, it followed that Germans and Americans who committed a crime could not be punished for it, while the subjects of other Powers, in theory amenable to the native courts, in practice were free to break the law with impunity. The Samoa Convention gave the jurisdiction over Germans to us, but the experience of Zanzibar has taught us that a Protectorate without jurisdiction over all foreigners is a very unsatisfactory arrangement.
The only person who could legally confer 648
the jurisdiction over foreigners upon our courts 643
was the King of Tonga, who nominally possessed 609 692
it, and this he had to be asked to do. If he [181]
had been anxious to part with his responsibilities there would have been little difficulty, but Tongans share with schoolboys a light-hearted contempt for the dangers of responsibility, and are, besides, rather proud of their law courts. We soon found that it was to be a long and tortuous business, calling for all the patience that we had at command.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

be a helpless cripple on their hands had some 752 weight with them. At last they were brought so far as to put him on a litter to carry him to the operating-room, but their hearts failed them in the end and he never came. The lad himself [826] seemed to prefer death, so great is the Polynesian's horror of mutilation.

It is not always for human beings that Dr. 609 Maclennan is asked to prescribe. Having been much troubled by his neighbours' pigs, he gave public warning of his intention of shooting intruders at sight. The very next night he executed his threat by moonlight, and heard the trespasser make off with an agonised squeal. Next morning he received an urgent summons from the inspector of police, a particular friend of his, to see his favourite pig which had been taken violently ill. One glance was enough to show him what ailed it, and he said, "The pig is very ill; it cannot live many hours, but if you kill and eat it at once, the meat will be perfectly wholesome." The owner took his advice, but unhappily, in carving the meat, he came across a bullet. It cost the doctor more than the value of the pig to patch the friendship up. By dint of a happy mingling of kindliness and mock ferocity he contrives to get his orders

609 obeyed, and the people have an extraordinary respect and affection for him.

692 693 I had more than one interview with the chief justice—not the somnolent old gentleman of ten years ago, but William Maealiuaki, who was then but an over-intelligent Radical member of Parliament. Persecution (he was an exile for conscience' sake in Mr. Baker's time), prosperity, or promotion had not been good for him; he had parted with even that little meed of modesty which adorns even the loftiest eminence. He took his duties very seriously, however, and whenever he came to see me it was to resolve some legal doubt that had arisen in the course of his duties on the bench. "You see," he said one day, "I have to be more careful now that there are *loya* listening to my judgments."

"Lawyers?" I inquired in surprise.

"Yes," he said, with pride; "and that is your work."

It was, I confess with shame, only too true. In Mr. Baker's days no one knew the law—not even the magistrates—and, as judgments went by favour, a suitor lost nothing by pleading his own case. But the code which I had drafted for them changed all that. It was furnished with an index, and a copy could be bought

825 763 to live"—a statement which, as the old gentleman's age verged upon seventy, we were not in a position to gainsay. The king, who is as enlightened as anyone in his kingdom, was scarcely less positive. "It is one of those things," he said, "that one would fain laugh at, but it has come true so often that one is compelled, against his will, to believe it true." Well, ten days passed, and Ata attended the great council of chiefs assembled to consider the treaty, the halest and liveliest of the old gentlemen present. I noticed that while he was chaffing two members of the cabinet, the bystanders regarded him with the tender, melancholy interest which is supposed to be bestowed upon the man in the condemned cell, and this may have told upon his spirits; for certain it is that a few weeks after my departure from the islands I received the news that he was dead. That superstition will die hard, and if I were Ata's successor I would see to it that a few of the flying-foxes were caught and tied to their perches by a string.

431 609 One morning two of Kubu's nieces, accompanied by an aged duenna, brought presents from their uncle, who perhaps felt that, since his dual rôle as my friend and the king's father-in-law had been beyond his powers, some pledge of our old

intimacy would not be out of place. Among the 431
things was a set of stamps for printing the native 609
cloth, and when I hastened to appropriate these, the younger sister, who has kittenish manners, broke in with "Oh, but *I* made these; they are not for you, they are for this gentleman!" Webber did his best to rise to this embryonic flirtation, but it died stillborn in nods and smiles for want of an interpreter. As the conversation dragged and the ladies showed no consciousness of having discharged their mission, it was suggested that they should face the camera by way
of complimentary dismissal. They were nothing 826
loath, but the elder sister stipulated for the loan of a silk handkerchief to hide her neck. As she had the ordinary English neck of not ungraceful outline, and her sister, who had no neck to speak of, showed none of this bashfulness, our curiosity was aroused. It was thus that we discovered the Tongan ideal of female loveliness. The perfect woman must be fat—that is most imperative—her neck must be short (like the younger sister's); she must have no waist, and if Nature has cursed her with that defect she must disguise it with draperies, or submit to be "miscalled" in the streets of Nukualofa; her bust and hips and thighs must be colossal. The woman who pos-

787 the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few
793 contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have
been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a
[154] graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed
in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old
[115] worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness
of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest
sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an
indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other
787 things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian
793 of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy
154 devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory
[609] is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another
extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually
[191] this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his
inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in
eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native
idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays some-
782 times make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant
factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accom-
paniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken
by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a
782 chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The
276 initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking
is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the
276 gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take
574 *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and
565 there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the
chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together,
precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with
rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example,
the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even
further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those
earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the
things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are
expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification
of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud
intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number
of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be
taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief
to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having
the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken
to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the
782 *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which
276

595 as well as the men. The structure of society provided in practice the
562 independence of women, which is the dream of some modern
feminists. It is necessary for the European to rid his mind of
[831] associations of nastiness in dealing with these matters, and to
remember that the Polynesian receives the facts connected with the
handing on of human life with the same simple candour as the
phenomena observed in his garden or anywhere else. I have overheard
a man, whose domestic life is impeccable judged by strict
European standards, discussing the numerous loves of a famous
chiefly lady of bygone days, and his comment was what an extraordinarily
fine woman she must have been to be desirable in the eyes
of so many husbands, to all of whom she bore children.

622 In general it was probably an honour for a girl to attract the
attention of a chief of high rank, and apart from marriages marked
837 by the elaborate exchange of gifts, there were many less formal
unions, which did not lead to a girl becoming a regular inmate of a
chief's compound. A girl who is taken to a chief is sometimes said
to "roll his mat," indicating her duty of rolling up the sleeping-mats
and making herself generally useful about the person of her lord.
[621] A village used sometimes to select a beautiful maiden to be the
[858] temporary mate of a chief, and bear them a babe of lofty lineage.
[551] The child was called by a special name indicating that he belonged
[858] to the whole village. Children are desired by both men and women.
In the marriage ceremonies described in Tukuaho's diary there is a
[585] blessing of the bride, "And may you bear children, yea twins."

582 For a man to succumb to the attractions of a girl of inferior rank
565 is not uncommon, but for a woman to condescend to an inferior is
rare; or it may be expressed in another way, that a man would
scarcely dare aspire to a lady of superior station to himself. Such
aspirations would be resented by other men as offensively presumptuous.
644 This led to the frequent marriage of the female Tui
582 Tonga, the highest woman of all excepting her own daughter, to a
565 foreigner. It is only in a comparatively recent period that the
609 genealogies exhibit certain cases of the marriage of this august lady,
and in these instances the bridegroom always belongs to one or two
houses of Fijian extraction. The first recorded marriage of a female
Tui Tonga is to a chief who actually came from Fiji; but the outside
blood once introduced sufficed to give the house enough of foreignness
to exempt its members from the restrictions that bound the
Tongan, and to provide bridegrooms for the exalted brides. This
lady must have been so restricted in the choice of a husband as to
622 have been generally a strict monogamist. It was not uncommon for
595 the wife of a chief to obtain other wives for him, usually it would
seem, selected from amongst her own younger female relatives over
whom she had power or influence. These secondary brides were

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

644 (Lakemba in Fiji). Of this marriage sprang the Tama-ha
(Sacred Child), children of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the sum-
175 mit of Tongan society. After Tapuoji the scions of two
[565] houses connected with him, the Tui Lakepa, and the Tui
Haa-Teiho, were the husbands of the female Tui Tongas,
[784] and their families the Tama-ha. Although the connection of
184 the Tui Lakepa and the Tui Haa-Teiho, with Fiji soon be-
[609] came remote, yet the infusion of foreign blood gave them
foreignness sufficient to release them from a tabu that would
be binding on every pure-blooded Tongan man.[20]

THE TUI KANO-KUPOLU.

About the year 1650 Mounga-Tonga, the Tui Haa-Taka-
643 laua, made his son Ngata the chief of western Tongatabu,
173 with the title of Tui Kano-kupolu. Ngata was the son of a Samoan lady, Tohuia, the daughter of Ama of Safata. There is a little village in western Tongatabu called Kanokupolu, but the significance of the title is out of all proportion to the importance of its meaning of king of this hamlet. Tohuia, perhaps, brought great prestige with her. It is only in recent years that the express recognition of the connection of the Tui Kano-kupolu with the Tui Manu'a in Samoa has been discontinued. Kupolu is of course identical in form with Upolu, the second largest island of Samoa.

The successful inauguration of the Ngata line, with its great head, the Tui Kano-kupolu, probably signalised the bringing of western Tongatabu into more satisfactory political relations with the lords of eastern Tongatabu, the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Haa-Takalaua. The present Ata, the principal chief of the Haa Ngata, Tribe of Ngata, has told me that chiefs were sent before Ngata to Hihifo (the west), but were slain. Ngata made good his lordship over the westerners. Originally a delegate of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa-Takalaua, the Tui Kano-kupolu has ended by acquiring the recognised sovereignty of the whole group.

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[114] [20] For the migration of the Tui Lakepa to Tonga see A. M. Hocart, Early Fijians pp. 44-46 (J.R.A.I. Vol. XLIX Jan. to June, 1919). The linguistic argument on p. 46 is, perhaps, too sweeping. There are traces of the article fe in Tongan, and it is in use in Niua Fo'ou, where also is found an exclamation pohopoho, which recalls the Lauan polopolo. The case of Niua Fo'ou, however, does not affect Mr. Hocart's argument, but suggests its close linguistic, and ethnic, affinity with Lau.

yards of its edge. When we again went on deck, 133
the whole scene was changed as if by some mighty enchantment.

The sea was now smooth. The ship's course lay through deep channels formed by numerous ledges of coral reef, over which breakers dashed with the noise of thunder. In these narrow channels the brig had to be tacked several times. The operation was by no means unaccompanied with danger. A slight error in the steerage, a lull of the breeze, or missing stays, as was not improbable with such a dull craft under hand, and we should instantly have been swept upon the edge of the perpendicular reefs, between which the tidal current rolled along at the rate of four miles an hour, and in some places with even greater rapidity. All, however,
went well, and just before reaching the most intri- 501
cate part of the passage a canoe was seen coming 609
from the shore. It lay so low upon the water as to be scarcely discernible. Conscious of this fact, the sole occupant of the tiny vehicle occasionally flourished his paddle in the air to attract attention. Believing him to be a native pilot, a short tack was made to give him time to overtake us; and a few minutes sufficed to bring the canoe
alongside. We looked for the first time upon a 291
Friendly Islander, and assuredly the impressions we received were by no means favourable. The man was almost naked. The only article of attire he wore was a thick covering of plaited leaves thrown round his loins; and dripping as he was with water, he really looked as if he had just been floated up from some ocean cavern. Although an old man, he was remarkably nimble in all his move-
ments. A narrow band of native cloth was bound 609
502

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

609 round his neck, from which he proceeded very care-
502 fully to unfold a well-worn paper, purporting to be a certificate from a commander in the French imperial navy, declaring that Jekobi Moana was a fit and trustworthy pilot for any vessel requiring his services. A rosary and cross suspended on his [797] breast showed him to be one of the few Romish converts residing on the eastern end of the island. Meanwhile, his tiny canoe being in imminent danger of swamping in the surge of the vessel's wake, it was hoisted up alongside, and friend Jacob, having been duly attired, much to his gratification, in a pair of sailors' trousers, mounted aloft to the fore-top-sail yard, to assume the duties of pilot. These were performed to the utmost satisfaction of all on board, considering both the real difficulties of the navigation, and the fact that Jacob knew not a word of English, and the chief mate, who was with him aloft, knew about as little of Tonguese. The whole affair was managed by telegraphic signs between the two; and it happened, more than once, that we were running full speed toward danger, and close upon it, before the result of the dumb show aloft could be shouted in nautical phrase to those on deck.

137 Approaching nearer to the main land, we gazed upon groves of innumerable cocoa nut palm trees, whose long and ponderous leaves glanced brightly in the sunlight, and waved gracefully to and fro with every undulation of the breeze. The land was clad in all directions with the richest vegetation, from the highest eminences down to within a few feet of the sea; while in some spots even the sea itself was encroached upon by clusters of mangrove 177 bushes. Here and there native villages, among the

797 Wednesday, 17th.—Have been ill since last Sunday, but my mind is kept peaceful.

Sunday, 21st.—Still rather unwell, but went in the boat and fulfilled my appointments at Bagaimotu. Preached twice, and met the members of Society. I spoke to each member individually, and hope good was done. Returned home after dark. [533] The boatmen sang several hymns as we glided along over the rippling sea, lighted on our way by the glorious beams of the full moon. There are no moonlight nights like this under the murky skies of our native land. The scene was gorgeous, and the singing sounded exceedingly fine, as it echoed and re-echoed from the shores of the harbour on either hand.

797 766 609 Thursday, 25th.—Walked to Toula. The road was bad, and it rained nearly all the way. After preaching, I visited a small cave facing Neiafu Bay, where all foreigners, whether Europeans or others, who died in these islands, were formerly buried. The native guide informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand. Upon any sudden rising of the sea, such as occurs during hurricanes, the cave was liable to inundation, in which case the relics of the dead were generally carried off by the receding tide. There were still, however, (when we saw it,) several human bones strewing the cave, clearly indicating the purpose to which it had been devoted in heathen times. Now, [199] through the Gospel, a better and more generous spirit actuates these people, and strangers receive all the necessary respect when they die, by being interred in the ordinary manner, and in the usual burying-grounds.

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily *fahu* to them. 604 554 [603]

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki,* which simply translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako,* of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6] 611 565

Foreigners. being exempt from the *tapu* binding on the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's some women were sitting in the *alofi.* and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man. 609 276 574 576

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono.* After the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience. 276 574 264

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain speeches to be made by the *matapule,* mainly of a congratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a,* the sun is still in its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory 276 574 537 643 [195] [576]

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[6] *Hou'eiki matua,* noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. (*Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

before and behind the Queen's person, and when the pig's 276
liver was placed before her he impaled it on his spear, and 574
ate it. This man is a Fijian (of course the amount of 643
Fijian blood in this particular individual may be but little), 644
belonging to the Ha'a Havea. His name is Moa, and the [576
same man played the part at the installation of the present 784]
Queen and of her father. Moa is connected with Tu'i-vakano. Of the origin of Tu'i Vakano it is related that a Fijian couple lived with Mataele Ha'amea, the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A son was born to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and given to the Fijian couple, becoming the first Tu'i Vakano.

It is said that a man named Soakai is allowed to eat [576]
and smoke in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Tonga chiefs, and he is said to have smoked in the *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II.

The Kau Fale-fa, the *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, were 276
allowed to eat in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. 574
It is probable that the exemption from ordinary *tapu* en- 643
joyed by these is connected with the fact of foreignness, 644 576
Moa being Fijian, Soakai also, as his name implies, and as 609
is stated by tradition. He is a member of the Fale-fa. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 57.) The Kau Fale-fa, as *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, would be privileged in respect of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and tradition, moreover, assigns to them a Fijian descent.

THE TU'I TONGA'S KAVA.

Although the ritual of the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring was, 276
doubtless, much like that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu procedure, 574
there were certain differences. It is difficult to get to-day an 643
exact description of the Tu'i Tonga ritual, but the following known differences from the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual may be noted.

In the first breaking of the root in large pieces the man doing this work in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring turns toward the king; but in the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring he turns away from the king.

The bowl was turned round the opposite way, so that the hanger pointed toward the king (*fuli taunga*, turning the hanger). The Tu'i Tonga received the second cup, not the third as the Tu'i Kanokupolu does. This cup was not called, but presented in reverent silence.

grant of not more than 1 rood 24 perches in a town or village area as a 425
town allotment. Each allotment is called an *api;* the former *api tukuhau* 884
and the latter *api kolo.* There appear to be only two legal restrictions on
where the allotments may be located: the tax allotment and the town 423
allotment must be in the same locality[14] and the holder of an hereditary
estate may refuse a grant to someone from a different area if there is
not enough land on his *tofia* for all the people living in his own locality.
Subject to these reservations, a man who applies for an *api* will
normally be granted one if land is available, whether the estate is Royal
estate, Noble estate or Government estate.

Although no one may hold more than one *api tukuhau* and one *api* 427
kolo, a man may receive a block of bush land of 12½ acres at a rental of 423
4/- per annum if he forgoes his *api kolo.*[15] Holders of land on hereditary
estates may, in addition to the *api tukuhau* already in their possession,
be granted a lease of an area not exceeding 5 acres at a nominal rental
for a period not exceeding 50 years. Holders of tax allotments on
Government estates may be given a lease over a greater area for the
same period provided that the lease does not exceed the area of the
allotment they already hold.

Each tax allotment carries a tax of 8/- a year and may be forfeited 425
if the holder defaults from paying this amount for three consecutive 423
years. The amount is collected by the Government which pays it over 651
to the member of Royalty or of Nobility from whose estate it comes, or
holds it as Government revenue if it comes from a Government estate.
But of moneys received as rent from leases on hereditary estates, only
90 per cent goes to the holder.

As the Crown owns all lands, all applications for grants must be 423
made to the Minister of Lands; applications for leases must also be 425
made to him, but can only be authorized by Cabinet. The Minister 427
approves grants only under certain conditions. No land holder may sell
his holding or dispose of it in any way; nor may he enter into any [645]
agreement for profit or benefit regarding the use or occupation of his
land other than in the manner prescribed by the Land Act. An alien [609]
may not hold or occupy land except as provided for in the Act, and a
land holder may not permit an alien to reside on his holding unless the
alien has obtained a permit or lease. An allotment holder must, within [245]
one year from the date of his grant, have growing on his allotment 200
coconut trees planted at intervals of 30 feet and must keep his holding
free from weeds. He is not allowed to mortgage or make an agreement
pledging or charging his growing crops. And he may not be expelled [645]
from his allotment by the holder of the *tofia* except on the authority
of the Minister of Lands.

While disposal of land by individuals is absolutely forbidden by 423
law, there are provisions in the Land Act by which land may be 428
inherited. 425

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[14] i.e. village locality. This is not coterminous with the *tofia* area, for people in one village may hold land in different *tofia.* This restriction simply means that a man who holds a town allotment in one village cannot hold a tax allotment in another village or in another part of the kingdom.

[15] i.e. he can have the equivalent of 1½ *api* at half the price of one. For a fuller treatment of the land law of Tonga, see Meek 1949.

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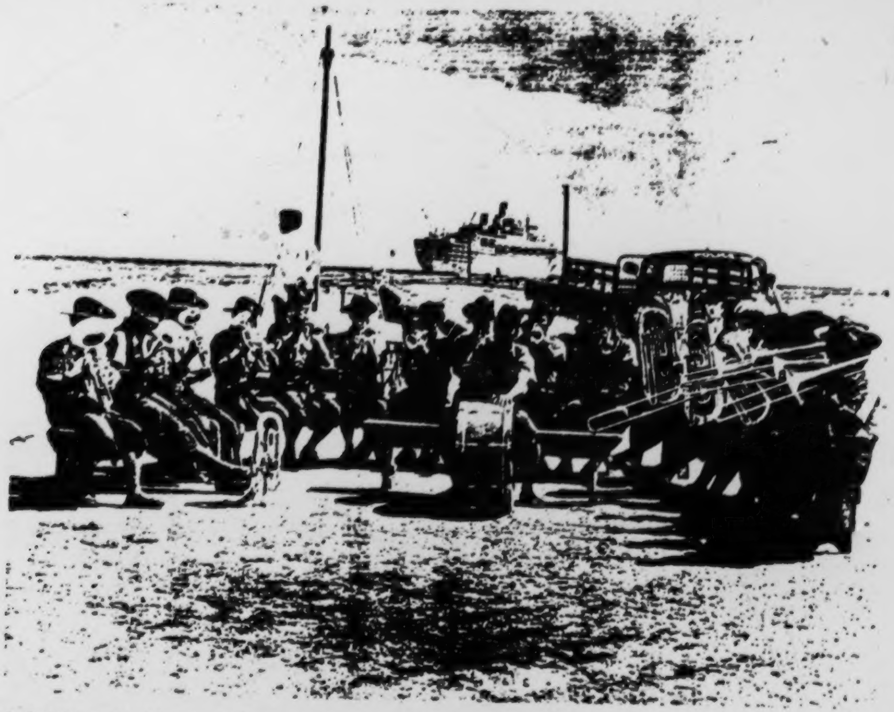
39: Gerstle & Raitt C.Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



A British cruise ship, the *Oriana*, receives a hearty welcome in Nuku'alofa from the Tongan police band.

Ko e talitali eni 'e he ifi 'a e kau polisi 'a e vaka pasese Pilitania ko e Oriana.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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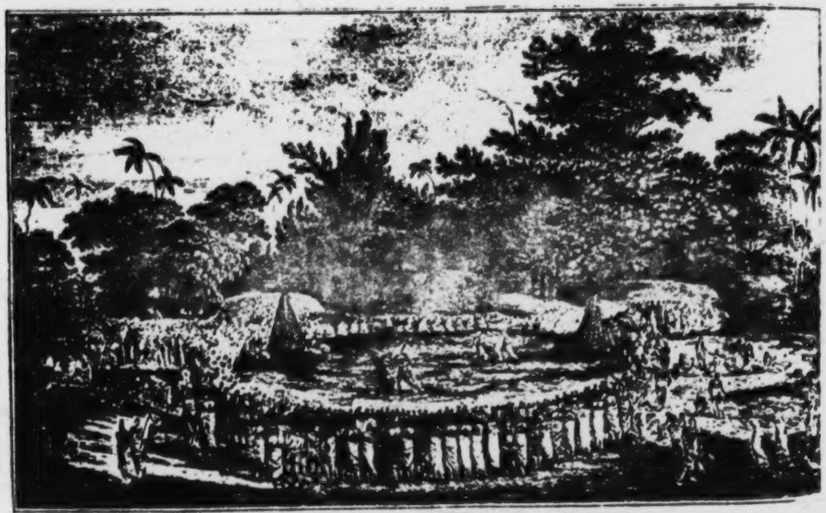
648
609
[1059]

Captain James Cook first visited the Tonga Islands in October, 1773, and again in July, 1774 when he gave Tonga the legendary name: the Friendly Islands. In his journal, he wrote: "this groupe I have named the Friendly Isles or Archipelago, as a firm Alliance and friendship seems to subsist among their Inhabitants, and their Courteous behavour to strangers intitles them to that appellation . . ."

Na'e fuofua 'a'ahi 'a Kapiteni Kuki ki Tonga 'i 'Okatopa, 1773. 'I he 'ene folau hono tu'o ua ki Tonga, 'i Siulai, 1774, na'a ne fakahingoa ai e 'Otu Tonga ko e 'Otu Felenite (Friendly). Na'a ne fai ai he tohi 'o pehe: "Kuou fakahingoa e 'otu motu ko eni ko e 'Otu Felenite koe'uhi 'oku fu'u fe'ofo'ofani mo femelino'aki 'a hono kakai, pea nau toe faka'apa'apa mo 'ofa foki 'i he kau sola mo e muli."



The RECEPTION *of* CAPT. COOK *in* HAPAEE

Chiefs, and the institution of a landed nobility. The 642
third section of the Constitution deals with the operation
of the new system of land tenure associated with the newly-created nobility.

The creation of the landed nobility was built in to 642
the radically reorganized system of land tenure (Lātūkefu 423
1974, Rutherford 1971, Maude 1971). The entire country 565 [311]
was divided into tracts of land designated for agricultural
purposes and tracts designated for residential purposes,
bush land ('uta) and town land (kolo). All town land was [427]
to be the property of the government, who would lease land
in residential areas to those who wished to dwell there.
Bush lands were divided into large parcels of land known as
tofia ('inherited estate'), most of which were vested in
individual nobles. Allotments of agricultural land could [427]
be obtained by leasing them from the owner of the tofia.
The intent of these provisions, as Rutherford explains it,
was to create

> . . . a peasantry with secure tenure of portions of land adequate to satisfy their needs and free from chiefly demands and encumbrances, and a nobility with holdings large enough to satisfy their relatively higher demands for status and remuneration (1971:99).

The new system of land tenure was an instrument of [425]
security for the state, for it reinforced long-standing [609]
prohibitions by Tāufa'āhau against the sale of Tongan land
to foreigners. However, the institution of leasehold set [427]
aside the principle of life-long security of tenure for

122 by the island on the NE and small isles and shoals to the SW and SE.
In the meantime the Ships were got under sail and worked up to the
133 island; when the Master returned he reported that he had Sounded
between great and little Anamocka, where he found 10 & 12
fathoms, the bottom Coral Sand, that the place was very well
sheltered from all winds but that there was no fresh Water but what
122 was some distance in land, but little of it and that little not good. For
this reason only I determined to anchor at the old place on the north
side of the island, but though we were not above a league from it [it]
122 was 5 oclock in the after noon before we got to an Anchor. A considerable
Number of Canoes being continually about the Ships, re-
609 tarded them considerably. There were amongst them some double
ones with a large sail that sailed round us apparently with the same
122 ease as if we had been at anchor. I came to an anchor in the very
same place as I did when last here, viz, in 18 fathom Water, the
bottom Coarse Coral sand; the island extending from E to SW and
Fri. 2 the West point of the Westermost Cove SE about ¾ of a mile dist^t.[1]
648 The next morning while preparation were making for Watering, I
went ashore accompaned by Captain Clerke and some of the officers,
to fix on a place to set up the observatories and to keep a guard;
leave being soon obtained of the Natives who accomodated us with a
648 boat house and shewed us every other Mark of civility. *Toobow* the
Cheif of the island[2] took me and Omai to his house, situated in a
634 pleasent spot in the midst of his plantation, a fine grass plat lay round
356 the [door?] which he gave us to understand was to clean their feet
[352] upon, a mark of cleanness I had no where observed in this sea before,
but afterwards found it was very common at these islands. The floor
of the house was laid with Mats and no carpet could be kept cleaner.
439 While we were a shore we bartered for a few hogs and some fruit, and
before we got on board the Ships were filled with the natives and as
122 few came empty we found no want of anything.[3] In the after noon I

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[1] On this anchorage cf. II, p. 451. 'Westermost Cove' here seems to bear out the correction suggested in n. 1 on that page.

[2] Presumably, but not clearly, Tupoulangi already mentioned. 'The Chief of Anamooka whose title is Agee, was named Tubow, a middle aged man, more modest and sedate [565] than we found the generality of these people. Another chief of some consequence was [537] named Kaper; this man was remarkable for making long orations to his countrymen.'—Burney journal, 2 May. 'Agee', *'eiki* (cf. Tahitian *ari'i*, Maori etc. *ariki*). 'Kaper', Cook's 'Tapah', or Kepa.

[3] 'Kept all kind of Provisions from the ship's Comp^y except Spirits and Servd fresh Pork Breadfruit, Yams Plantains &c in leiu.'—Harvey log, 1 May.—'This day having purchas'd among the Canoes as much fresh Pork, Breadfruit, Yams and Plantains as wou'd serve the People for the present, I stopd every Species of their Sea Provision except the Grog, and serv'd it to them, so that now we enter upon quite a new Regimen, and a most salutary one it is; tho' Thank God our last agreed with us very well, we have not a Man in the Sick List. This Forenoon I receiv'd an Order respecting the Trade and Provision from Cap^t Cook which I immediately put in force.'—Clerke, 1 May.

spend under sail with land and breakers in every direction. Towards 122
the evening Feenough who had been on board all day, went a shore
to Happi and took Omai with him, he did not forget our situation 634
and kept up a good fire all night by way of a land mark. 648

SATURDAY 17*th*. At day-light the next morning I sent a boat to look
for anchorage, she soon found a place and we came to in 24 fathom 122
the bottom Coral sand, the northern point of Happi or the north end
of Ha-an-no bore N 16° E, the Southern point of Happi or Hooleva 133
S 29° W, and the North end of Lefooga S 65° E.[1] Two ledges of rocks [131]
lay without us, the one bearing S 50° W and the other WBN½N distant
2 or 3 miles. We lay before a creek in the reef which made it convenient
landing at all times and we were not above ¾ of a mile from
the shore. By the time we had anchored the Ships were filled with 609
the Natives and surrounded by a multitude of Canoes, filled also
with them. They brought with them hogs, Fowls, fruit and roots
which they exchanged for Hatchets, Knives, Nails, beads, Cloth &c^a. 439
Fenough and Omai having come on board soon after it was light in
order to interduce me to the people ashore I now accompaned them 634
to the isle[2] for that purpose; The Chief conducted me to a house situated 648
close to the Sea beach which I had seen brought thether but a
few minutes before. In this we were seated that is The Chief, Omai
and my self, the other chiefs, and the Multitude seated themselves in
a circle without before us. I was then asked how long I intended to 634
stay, on my saying five days, Tapah was order[ed] to come and sit by 648
me and proclaime it to the people. He then Harangu'd them in a set 565
speach mostly dictated by Feenough. The purport of this speach as I 537

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[1] See Edgar's Chart XLVI and Fig. 5. The islands Cook names are Ha'ano, Uoleva and Lifuka. These are three of the largest of the Ha'apai group. But Uoleva does not provide the 'Southern point' of the group: Uiha is a more southerly, and larger island, close to it. Edgar's chart gets the relative positions of the islands quite well, though his names, apart from 'ar-no' and 'Lafugar' are misplaced. [103]

[2] What isle? It is curious that Cook does not more closely define his landing place; but we know from other records that it was at the northern end of Lifuka—cf. *Voyage*, I, p. 242: 'landing at the North part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ship's station'. This, together with Chart XLVI, where the anchorage is marked, and what is evidently the 'creek in the reef' mentioned by Cook, would argue that the precise place was towards the tip of the island (the point Ahanga), almost at the northern end of the bay called Faka'amumei. Local tradition now records the anchorage correctly enough, but has the landing-place at the point called Muikuku, the south-west end of the bay, just east of which is the village called Koulo. Now Koulo means 'gold'; and why should a Tongan village be thus called? Because, say the old men, when this village was built it was called 'Gold' in memory of Captain Cook's visit; for his boats were full of bags of gold. Cook presented a few medals, left over from the second voyage, at various places on this voyage; and very likely here. Brass or 'platina' may well have come down in tradition as gold. The story was told to me on a trip by cutter to the outlying island Mo'unga'one in July 1958, to explain a sudden surprising question 'What did Captain Cook's ships weigh?' The Tongan knows that gold is heavy; but when he first saw—or last saw, for that matter—a gold coin I do not know. [103]

634 lear[n]t by Omai, was that all the people both young and old were to
look upon me as a friend who was come to remain with them a few
648 days, that they were not to steal or molest me in any thing, that they
565 were to bring hogs, fowls, fruit &c^{a} to the ships where they would
537 receive in exchange such and such things. Soon after Tapah had
done haranguing the people, Fenough left us and Tapah gave me to
understand it necessary I should make a present to the Chief of the
island whose name was *Earoupa*,[1] I was not unprepared and made him
a present that far exceeded his expectation, this brought upon me
two Cheifs of other isles and lastly Tapah himself. When Feenough
returned which was immidiately after I had made the last present,
he pretended to be angry with Tapah for suffering me to give away
so much, but I looked upon this to be all a feness. The Cheif again
took his seat and ordered Earoupa to set by him and to harangue the
people as Tapah had done, the subject was chiefly dictated by Feenough
634 and was to the same effect as the other. These Ceremonies
being over, the Cheif at my request conducted me to three standing
648 pools of fresh water as he was pleased to call it, in one indeed the
[312] water was tolerable and not inconvenient to come at.[2] After Viewing
the Water we returned to our former station, where I found a baked
[431] hog and some yams all piping hot put up for me to take on board. I
invited the chief and his friend to pertake of it they excepted my invitation
and we all imbarked for the Ship, but none but the chief sat
[431] down to table. After dinner I conducted them ashore and before I
came on board the Chief gave me a fine large Turtle and a quantity
[439] of yams, and we got by barter along side the Ship about twenty small
hogs besides fruit and roots. I was told that soon after we went ashore
609 in the Morning, a man came off and ordered every one of the Natives
a shore, probably it was to be present at the ceremony for that was
796 no sooner over than they returned.

634 SUNDAY 18*th*. Early in the Morning Omai, who generally slept
ashore, and Feenough came on board. After some time I accompaned
648 them ashore and was conducted to the same place as I was at the day
before, where a large concourse of people were assembled, I guess'd
some thing or another was going to be done but could not till what
[431] nor could Omai inform me. I had not sit long before near a hundred
[651] people came laden with Yams, Bread fruit, Plantain Cocoanuts and

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[1] Tongans cannot explain this name, or give an equivalent: possibly Ahupe or Tealupe. Tealupe was the *matapule* of Uiha, close to Lifuka.

[2] There is still a well at Koulo, once merely a deep pond about four feet across, now with a concrete wall around it and a cover on top; its water is regarded as very good, at least for washing. This could very well have been the 'standing pool' Cook refers to, as Koulo would have been an easy stroll from the northern end of the bay.

[1777]

291 the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one
piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to
go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle
or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as
the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle
is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when
[565] unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as
to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up
with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made
of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth
or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap
292 round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their
great *Haivas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made
[535] for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest
dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on
what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I
could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces
from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other
301 materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of
many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise
shell.[3]

342 *Houses* The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those
of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by
[352] pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the workman ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth
[264] smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean;
they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed
on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong
Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a
nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the
352 ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about
519 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon
its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a
fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family
to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

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[1] Tongan *malo*.

[714] [2] This head-dress, the *fas* or *fasfas*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony, or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '... both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[562] [609] [4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the 352
unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is 513
large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so
that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have
mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear [291]
in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture
consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few 352
gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve 415
them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the
family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often mentioned
that it is almost needless to add any thing 262
further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food,
nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour
and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and [231]
poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor
is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed [136]
generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they
have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes 252
which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of
any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or 272
the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning.
I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the
generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they 264
meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals [415]
generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a]
meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four per- [643]
sons, one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a [644]
another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and
what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to
what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same
dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women, [562]
which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very
shy. . . . In the inside of the dwelling houses, are matts spread on the Ground; & a thick [609]
upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which inclosed a Circular space for the Master &
Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this
kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its [565]
products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their
precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu* [421]
except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to
large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment. [643]

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who
were appointed for the purpose.

times the size of the largest we had yet seen. The islands almost incircled us now and we tack'd standing to the NE, but at five stood 114 back again, soon after which two Canoes one with four & the other 133 with three men paddled towards us and came along side without the least hesitation. They brought some Cocoa nuts, Bread fruit, plantanes 609 and sugar cane which they gave in exchange for small nails and 439 knives. One of the Indians came on board and when they left us another Canoe came but did not stay long as night was approaching, for the nearest island was five or six miles off which was that with three hummocks, and sufficiently shows the hazard these people would run to posess a few of our triffling articles. We sounded at this 114 time and had 40 fathom but soon after only 17, on which we made the signal for the Discovery to anchor which we did about six o clock in a bottom of coarse Coral sand with bits of shells.

TUESDAY 29. *Therm.* 75½:76½:80½:79:78:76½. The wind about N 132 except part of the forenoon when it chang'd suddenly and came from WSW with a great deal of heavy rain. The rest of the day moderate breezes with the weather dull or cloudy and a sultry air. About five in 609 the morning we sent two boats to the nearest island which lay in our 439 way and was that mention'd last night, that they might purchase vegetables and meet us as we came up to it. Soon after we weigh'd and stood towards it but made several tacks as the wind was foul, in which time six or seven canoes came from different islands and brought bread fruit, plantanes and yams which they exchang'd as yesterday evening. They also brought several fowls, a great many [431] shaddocks, and an old man who had been on board last night made the Captain a present of a pretty large hog. Besides these they also [136] exchang'd pieces of cloth, fish hooks, small baskets, musical reeds and some clubs, spears and bows, as well as some large wood Pigeons,[1] [223] small rails[2] and large violet colour'd Coots.[3] They retreated when the rain was violent, about which time one of our boats return'd with a considerable quantity of bread fruit, yams, plantanes and some grass for the cattle. The other return'd soon after noon with more vegetables, some fowls and seven young hogs, so that altogether we had procurd as much bread fruit and other Vegetables as serv'd our people to day, which with an addition brought by several more Canoes in the afternoon also ennabled us to spare some to the Discovery and reserve enough to ourselves for another day. Our people were very civilly treated by the Indians at the island, who sold them the bread fruit for a bead each and the hogs for a small hatchet

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[1] *Globicera pacifica.*

[2] The Spotless Crake, *Porzana tabuensis.*

[3] *Porphyrio melanotus.*

609 apiece, but bunches of plantanes or fowls were purchas'd for
439 middling siz'd nails. The inhabitants were not numerous and their
huts which were collected together and stood within a plantane walk
361 but indifferent: not far from them there was a pretty large pond of
312 fresh water, which was tolerable though not equal to what we commonly meet with in streams, of which there was not the least
114 appearance. Between two and three in the afternoon we pass'd this
133 island, the higher parts of which are not wooded and seem to be
uncultivated, but it has notwithstanding a pleasant appearance. We
[137] pass'd near a reef or shoal that lyes to the sw of it and in the evening
were abreast of Annamocka, but being three or four miles to leeward kept turning up as we had no soundings with less than 40 fathom which made it inconv[en]ient to anchor. The bottom was rocky & we had sometimes 55 fathom but at eleven at night 50 with the same sort of ground.

132 WEDNESDAY 30th. *Long.* TK 184.41 E. The wind from ENE to N and
NbW. Moderate breezes and sometimes gentle or almost calm. The
weather dull with a great deal of rain early in the morning and some
114 in the afternoon. A swell from the sw. Before day light we continued
to make short boards and when that appear'd were nearly in the
same place as last night, but soon after as there was but little wind we
[133] fell more to leeward. When the breeze sprung up we stood in and at
eleven in the forenoon were near the shore of Annamocka eete[1] or
little Annamocka, off which lye some shoals on which a high surf broke. We afterwards made several tacks and as the wind became more favourable in the afternoon we lay up for the anchoring place at Annamocka, but it failing us in the evening we anchor'd in 42 fathom coral sand and shells about two miles off shore at the WNW
114 part of the island. In the forenoon we saw two islands to the NW^{t}ward
which are those call'd Kaybay and Mattafòà[a] in Abel Tasmans plate
133 of Annamocka, where they are represented too small. The one is a
[103] single mountain of a Conic figure which has a noble appearance, and
the other is pretty long and flat on the top though much higher than
any of the neighbouring isles (except that just mention'd) or indeed
439 of any we had yet seen between the tropics. All the day we had
several canoes, sometimes near twenty, about the ship from whom we purchas'd a great quantity of vegetables and about a dozen small hogs and pigs besides many fowls. Our trade was brisker today as

[a] Their names as told us by the natives are 'Káô and To'fooa. [Kao and Tofua.]

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[1] Nomuka Iki.

some orders were issued out by the Captain to prohibit every person 439
from purchasing any thing but provisions, and also appointed proper
people for that purpose. While working up towards the island in the 114
day we had from 41 to 49 fathom with a bottom of broken shells and
black sand. 133

[MAY 1777]

THURSDAY MAY 1st. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with dull 132
cloudy weather and some showers of rain. Early in the morning the
Master was sent in the Cutter to examine the SE part[1] of the island and 114
in the forenoon returnd with an account of there being good anchor-
ing and landing, but there was no water near except a small stagnant
Pool and a few holes dug in the sand which had both a very indifferent
sort. In the mean time we had weighd and work'd close in shore, but
determin'd now to reach the anchoring place which Capt^{n} Cook had
occupy'd when at this island in 1774, which though at a small dis-
tance took us till four in the afternoon before we got up, which was
occasion'd by a tide or current that seem'd to set right off shore. We
anchor'd in fathom a sandy bottom not a mile from the shore
on the NNW part of the Island. Soon after day light several Canoes 609
came off and at one time we had near forty about the ship, besides 501
two large sailing Canoes that carry'd between forty and fifty men
each. We purchas'd a great quantity of vegetables and in particular 439
had more bread fruit than we could use, and several hogs & fowls in
the same manner as on the preceding days, but were oblig'd to punish
one of our people who already infring'd the articles made to regulate
our bartering. There were several women in the Canoes that came off [562]
to day who were perhaps incited by curiosity to visit us, though at the [609]
same time they barterd as eagerly as the men and us'd the paddle
with equal labour and dexterity. The Discovery anchor'd a little 114
before us though once far to leeward.

FRIDAY MAY 2d. The wind E or Ebs with cloudy weather and some 132
showers of rain. In the morning we hoisted out the Launch and other
boats and in the forenoon the Captain went on shore and agreed 648
with the natives for the use of a hut or shed to serve as a tent and also
for procuring water. In the afternoon the horses were sent on shore
and at the same time a party of marines under the command of M^{r}
King, who kept gaurd in the shade for the protection of the horses
and waterers. To strengthen our party some were sent from the Dis-
covery, and a signal agreed on between that ship and those on shore

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[1] Cook says 'to Sound the SW side'.

[1777]

648 in case any disturbance should happen with the natives, because she
lay quite abreast of the S^o^most sandy beach whereas we were rather
● 609 to leeward of it. There was however little reason to expect such an
accident as they behav'd in the most civil manner to us (if we except
685 their attempting to thieve every thing) and many came off and
439 barterd hogs and Vegetables, though not in such numbers as when
standing off and on, as their attention was much taken up to day
with our boats going so frequently on shore.

132 SATURDAY MAY 3^d^. The wind N . Mod^t^ breezes. The weather fine
with some showers in the afternoon. Our people employ'd watering &
648 another party in cutting wood, both which the chief who is nam'd
Taipa agreed to. Many of the natives traded at the ship and on shore
439 exchanging their fruits for nails & beads as before. They also asisted
in rolling down our water casks but they seem'd to understand Trade
so perfectly that they would not do or give the smallest triffle unless
they were paid.

114 SUNDAY 4^th^. The wind W. Moderate breezes with fine weather. The
[132] people employed in wooding and watering and a party in cutting
grass for the Cattle. The indians continue to Barter their fruits but
[439] very few hogs are now brought, though several Canoes have come
[133] from the other islands. The Discovery lost her small bower anchor not
from any wind or sea but the foul ground which is probably coral
rock.

[132] MONDAY MAY 5^th^. The wind westerly. Gentle breezes with fine
137 weather. The people employ'd as before, but several of the party who
were wooding sufferd greatly from the juice of the trees which they
[114] cut down, as it is so acrid that when they wip'd their face with their
hands it inflam'd their Eyes so as to make them incapable of working
& had the same effect on some other parts. They erroneously suppos'd
it to be Manchineel for it is a species of Pepper and grows
plentifully every where towards the shore. The trees are of no great
size & the twigs when broke distill a great quantity of a milky juice.
[824] It is calld Fait'anoo[1] by the natives & may easily be known by trying
if it has the milky juice or from its rounded leaves almost like a [2] tree.

114 The Discovery found her anchor again, but her misfortune made
us examine one of our Cables which we found unhurt. The Gunner
439 was employ'd as usual in bartering on shore for provisions & purchas'd
a good many Yams and several hogs which came from some of
643 the other isles. We found that though Taipa or Kaipa was the person

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[1] Feta'anu, *Excoecaria agallocha*. It is common in Tonga in thickets near the sea.
[2] 'Manchineel' was presumably the word that slipped Anderson's pen.

245 in the open plantane fields. The bread fruit and Cocoa nut trees are
[417] interspers'd with little order though chiefly near their habitations,
and the other parts of the island, especially towards the sea and about
[244] the sides of the lake are coverd with trees and bushes of a most
luxuriant growth, the last place having a great many mangroves &
the first a vast number of the Fait'anoo trees already mentioned.
133 There seems to be no rock or stones of any kind about the island that
is not coral, except in one place to the right of the sandy beach which
is the highest part of it, where there is a rock twenty or thirty feet
high of a calcareous stone of a yellowish colour and a very close hard
texture, but even about this place are large pieces of the same coral
rock that composes the shore.

648 We liv'd on the most friendly terms with the natives while we
remain'd here, and obtain'd a much larger supply of refreshment
609 than could have been expected from so small a place, but it should be
[439] consider'd that all the small islands around it furnish'd their Quota,
[342] and the strangers that brought their hogs and other things were
oblig'd to live in temporary huts which they erected or lay them-
[136] selves down behind bushes or ferns. Besides walking frequently in the
country, which we were permitted to do without any interruption,
we sometimes amus'd ourselves in shooting wild ducks not unlike the
Widgeon[1] which are very numerous upon the salt lake and the other
648 pool. In these excursions we found the people had often deserted their
houses to come down to the trading place without entertaining any
609 suspicion that strangers rambling about would take away or destroy
439 any thing about them, but though in these cases it might be suppos'd
161 a great part of the inhabitants were sometimes collected at the beach
162 it was impossible to form any true computation of their numbers, as
the continual resort of strangers from other places mixing with them
might easily mislead one. However as there was never to appearance
above a thousand seen at one time it would perhaps be sufficient to
allow double that number for the whole island.

114 We steerd about NNW towards Kàò and Toofòá in our way to
Hapaee,[2] an island which Fee'nou said was of a considerable extent,
634 where we could be supply'd plentifully with every refreshment in the
[648] easiest manner. He engag'd to go to this place with us himself and
seem'd to have some interest in it, for he express'd a good deal of
aversion to the Captains intention of going to Amsterdam which he
133 mention'd to him. Although they made us understand that Hapaee
lay rather to the NE of Anna'mooka, we were obligd to take this route
114 because there is a cluster of islands lying between Annamooka &

[1] *Anas superciliosa.*

[2] Ha'apai.

A [Nomuka--Analyst]

131 the second Offo'lange,[1] between which is a rock nam'd Bouhee,[2] and
103 at eleven had got up to Loo'hoggo. We then tack'd and stood to the
S^{o}ward but in the afternoon to the eastward, and at seven in the
evening were within a league of the shore of Ha'ano, but stood off
again as we had no soundings with less than 56 fathom. Before dark
some more land was supposd to be seen to the NE^{t}ward, which was
probably an Island mention'd to us by the natives who call it
Va'vaoo[3] and say it is much larger than Ha'paee.

634 A good many Canoes came from the different isles who brought a
few hogs, fowls and fruit, and Fee'nou follow'd us again to day with a
609 present of two more hogs, some Cocoa nuts &c but in the afternoon
431 went forward to Hapaee.

132 SATURDAY 17th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine weather
though sometimes a little cloudy. A smooth sea. Lat^{d} at noon 19.46.08
114 p. ob. In the night we stood off and on and in the morning were close
in with Foa, which we saw was join'd to Ha'ano by a reef running
133 even with the surface of the sea from one to the other. In the mean
time the Master was sent in the cutter to sound between several
small shoals that lye a little way off shore, and before eight she made
the signal for having found anchorage, upon which we stood on and
soon after came to abreast of the reef which joins Lai'fooga to Fôà (in
the same manner as the last place is joind to Ha'ano) though rather
over towards the N end of Lai'fooga in twenty four fathom about a
mile from the shore. The bottom was a fine sand and when moor'd
one extreme of Hapaee bore the other the S end of
Fôà - the north end of Lai'fooga and the island
609 Loo'hoggo off Ha'ano.[4] Immediately after anchoring many Canoes
434 came off and in a short time there was above a hundred about the
two ships with those that were constantly going to and coming from
the shore. They brought off fruits and several hogs which they
barterd in the same manner as the people at Annamooka, and indeed
we found that many of them had been at that place while we lay there.

114 The Captain went on shore at the N part of Lai'fooga a little to the
right of where the ship lay and found the landing place very convenient
except at low water, when the Boats cannot get close in for a
634 flat that runs some way off and is dry at that time. We found that the
people here paid rather still more respect to Feenou than at Annamooka,
and no person seem'd to have equal authority to him as they
seem'd to do what ever he directed with the greatest readiness.

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[1] Ofolanga, the northernmost of the Ha'apai group.

[2] Puhi: it is inside the Ofolanga reef.

[3] Vava'u.

[4] Cook is more precise about the position, p. 105 above.

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. 114
The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good
many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a 439
present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, [634]
Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between
the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine [431]
green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded [648]
with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that
it was almost impossible to stir. [609]

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. [132]
We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a
great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us 609
mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect
us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole 114
island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka.
The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and 311
we found large spots well planted with the Morus papyrifera (paper
Mulberry),[1] but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east
side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is
much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the [194]
middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than
the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in [162]
in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd [241]
fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most [417]
civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of [487]
having no good water that we could see, for though we found several
ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some 312
large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet
from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one
place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with 223
an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made 349
us understand people sate to catch pigeons.[2] At another place was a
house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area 344
of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort 764
publickly to;[3] and near the landing place we saw one of their burying 349
grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with
gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the
bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.[4] Most of the 000

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[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.

[2] Tongan *mala'e*.

[3] One of the mounds called *sialupe*.

[4] A *fa'itoka*.

[1777]

Most of the
609 people had left their habitations to go where the ships lay, and our
421 guide, to show perhaps that he deriv'd his authority from a person superior to any of them, often went into their huts, examind what was
565 in them & made no scruple to take what he wanted or throw the things down without. He also often stopt people that were carrying things to barter & took dress'd yams or cocoa nuts to eat, nay at one time took some fish from a poor old woman who was going to dress them and was probably her subsistence for the day, but after carrying them a little way he gave them to a person that was following us.

133 The island is not above seven miles long and in some places not more than two or three broad. The east side, which is expos'd to the trade wind, has a reef running to a considerable breadth from it on which the sea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins it to Foa, which is not above half a mile from it, and is partly dry at low water so that the natives can walk from one island to the other. The shore itself is either a coral rock six or seven feet high or a sandy beach, but higher than the west side, which in general is not more than three or four feet above the level of the sea. This side forms a bending or sort of bay with a fine sandy beach its whole length, defended by several shoals without, but as the entrance in is difficult from shoals perhaps the spot where the ships lay is more
609 convenient. We found very few people in this excursion as most of them were at the Ships.

132 TUESDAY 20th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. In the forenoon the Captain to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants
609 orderd a party of marines on shore with some from the Discovery to
[177] show them the method of using our fire arms. They seem'd well pleas'd with the firing and various motions which were made, though
[535] our soldiers were by no means examples of the best discipline. In their
[714] turn they exhibited a dance and excersizd their clubs, in which it was acknowledg'd by all they far outdid our people in exactness and dexterity.

177 In the evening we entertaind them with fire works, which luckily happen'd to be in excellent order, at which they express'd much satisfaction and a good deal of astonishment; especially at some water rockets which were admirable and gave us who had never seen any as much pleasure as the Indians could possibly receive. They compar'd the sparkles which fell from the sky rockets to falling stars, and were surpriz'd at the height of the smoke that remaind after they were spent for they suppos'd it absolutely remaind and became a cloud.

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When we had finish'd they treated us in their turn with several

dances, the prelude to which was a band of music or chorus of 18 609
men, who sat down in the centre of the place where the dances were 535
to be performd. Four or five of these had pieces of large Bamboo from 533
three to five or six feet long, with the close end of which the[y] kept
constantly beating the ground, though slowly, and they produc'd 534
sounds of different sorts according to their length, but all of the grave or base cast, to counteract which a person kept striking a piece of the same substance split and laid along the ground quickly with two sticks, and by that means furnish'd a tone as acute as the first was grave. The rest as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a 533
slow and soft air, which so temper'd the harsher music that a bye stander who had been accustom'd to hear the most perfect and various modulation of sounds could nevertheless not avoid confessing the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony, which appear'd not to be produc'd from the variety but the sorts of tones made use of.

After continuing for about a quarter of an hour twenty women [824]
enter'd the circle most of whom had garlands of the crimson flowers
of the China rose[1] or others about their head, and many had cut some [301]
other leaves they had about them as ornaments with a great deal of nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus turning 533
their faces towards it, and began by singing a soft air to which re- 535
sponses were made by the chorus in the same tone, which were repeated alternately, during which time the woman accompanied their song with several very gracefull motions of the hands towards the face and in other directions, at the same time making constantly a step forward and then back again with one foot while the other was fix'd. They then turnd their faces to the assembly, sung some time, and retreated slowly in a body to one part of the circle which was opposite to where some of the principle people sat as spectators in a small hut. One then advanc'd from each side, met and pass'd each other at the front walking round till they came to the rest, on which two advanc'd from each side two of whom pass'd each other and return'd as the former, but the other two remaind & to these came one from each side by intervals till they had again made a circle about the chorus.

Their manner of dancing was now chang'd for a quicker sort in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping and clapp'd their hands, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus, but towards the end as the quickness of the music increas'd they perform'd a sort of motion which with us would be rather reckon'd

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[1] Hibiscus.

some height. We row'd to the last place and landed amongst a
considerable number of people, who receivd us with a sort of acclamation 643
not unlike our huzzaing, as most of them had probably never 648
seen a Europæan before and apparently had collected for that [133]
purpose. They immediately seperated to let Poulaho pass, who took [609]
us into a small inclosure and shifted the piece of cloth he wore for a
new piece neatly folded that was carried by a young man. An old [576]
woman assisted in dressing him and put a mat over his cloth, as we [292]
supposd to prevent its being dirtied when he sat down, but to our
great surprize on asking where Mareewagee was he said he had gone
from the place just before we arriv'd to the ship. He however desir'd [344]
us to walk with him up to a Ma'laee (a house of public resort or
perhaps worship)[1] which was near half a mile up, but when we came to
a large Area before it he sat down in the path and desird us to walk
to the house, which we did & sat down in front while the crowd that
followd us fill'd up the rest.

After sitting a little while Omaee went to enquire if he meant we
should see Mareewagee, but he either not understanding him or
interpreting his answer into an equivocal one we walkd about a little
and the Captain then ask'd to see his house, which he seem'd averse
to though he promis'd it before; upon which suspecting we should
not be able to see the person we went back to the boat, & just at our
departure three men with leaves strung about their necks sat down
near Poulaho and began to repeat something with a serious air which
we did not stay to hear finish'd. We also met several people coming [431]
with Baskets of Yams & hogs which were sent to the boat after us,
but the Capt^{n} was so chagrin'd at his disappointment that he would
not receive them nor a bale of cloth that was sent after us by a Canoe.

It is difficult to tell whether our disappointment was only accidental
or designed by Poulaho, for on enquiring at our return to the ship
no such person as Mareewagee had been there. I am however inclin'd [123]
to think it arose partly from our not understanding them perfectly,
and that had we waited a sufficient time we might perhaps have seen
the old man, as they mention'd some thing about a chief who would
come presently when they found us determind to go away.

The small tent for making Astronomical observations, with that 114
from the Discovery, were fixd to day immediately on the point at no
great distance from the other tent. A pretty brisk trade for provisions 439
carried on with the natives, a great many of whom came off to the
ship.

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[1] It was not the house that was the *mala'e*, but the cleared space in front of it; and the Tongan *mala'e* was not a place of worship.

648 of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and
431 others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees
though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a
643 small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which
with a piece of cloth, a mat and bit of red feathers were given as a
648 present to the Captain by Poulaho, besides two hogs which were
535 carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams. About one
o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a
[643] copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted
by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five
women in it who went through the several parts with as much
exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room
for two men who excercis'd their clubs as mentioned in the first
648 dances, and in the third which was the last two more did the same.
526 The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man
entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a Cocoa
411 leaf which is firm and heavy, but could not find one that would engage
535 him at so rough a sport. At night we had the Bo'mai repeated,
in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in
648 the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at
643 Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys
there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior
to their Kings.

132 SUNDAY 22. The wind Easterly. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather.
The people unemployed. Some of our Gentlemen set out yesterday
114 morning to see the interior part of the island, and after walking some
[133] way met with a lake or Lagune which they cross'd in a Canoe, and is
probably an arm running from the Bay mentiond before to the westward
as they did not see its communication with the sea. They then
[311] cross'd to the opposite side of the island, some parts of which they
[609] found very well cultivated, and stay'd all night but found the inhabitants
not very willing to supply them with provisions though
[648] they treated them civilly in other respects. On returning back to day
one of them had his gun unexpectedly snatch'd from him by some of
the people that follow'd them, and another trusting a young man to
carry his lost it by the other setting off though he had carried it many
miles.

132 MONDAY 23. The wind from NE to NNW. Moderate breezes with dull
cloudy weather, a close air and in the evening a good deal of rain. In
114 the morning the cutter with the Master and the Discoverys cutter

assume a rocky appearance towards the NE point though not above 133
seven or eight feet high, and neither of these places have any shelter
for ships, at least the S side which is bold on every part and has a high
surf breaking on it. At the W or rather NW end is an open road,[1] where [487]
Tasman anchor'd in 1643 and Capt^{n} Cook in 1773, but besides being
unsheltered the ground is very foul, and Maria bay near the W end [134]
on the N side is far from being a good harbour for large ships from its
shoals & difficult entrance. The place where we lay is exactly in
S Latitude, E Longitude, and forms a
harbour every way safe and convenient with a good landing place,
except just at low water when a sandy flat that runs off a little way
prevents the Boats getting quite close. It is near the middle on the [439]
north side of the island, and though in the neighbourhood of perhaps
the least inhabited part of it, is not less convenient as the natives will [609]
always bring supplies, and there is less danger of being pester'd by
their numbers. A ship coming here ought to make the NE part of the
island, and run down between the main and little isles lying off it
till she has pass'd the narrow between Makka'ha and Mon'ooafai,
which we went out by, and then haul up for the Harbour within
Pangiamotoo supposing the wind SE^{t}erly which is commonly the
case. As the passage we came in by to the N^{o}ward is neither safe nor
easy the best method is to wait for a breeze from the W^{t}ward or
N^{o}ward, which frequently blows, to repass the strait of Mon'ooafai,
or if time will not permit to work through with a flood tide as we did,
the length of the whole passage between the isles and main not
exceeding four leagues.

It is what may with the greatest propriety be calld a low island, as
the trees on the west part when we lay at anchor only appear'd, and
the only eminent part which can be seen from a ship is the SE point,
though many gently rising and declining grounds are observable
when on shore. The general appearance of the country does not [311]
afford that beautifull kind of Landscape often produc'd from a
variety of hills and valleys, lawns, rivulets and cascades but at the
same time it conveys to the spectator an idea of the most exuberant
fertility, whether we respect the places improv'd by art or those still
in a natural state, both which yield all its vegetable productions
with the greatest vigour and perpetual verdure. At a distance the 139
surface seems entirely cloath'd with trees of various sizes, some of
which are very large, but above the rest the tall Cocoa palms always
raise their tufted heads and are far from being the smallest ornament

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[1] Van Diemen's Road.

164 tumour which affects the legs & arms & increases them to an extraordinary
size in their whole length: and the other a tumour of the
same sort in the testicles which sometimes exceed the size of the two
fists,[1] but in other respects they may be consider'd as uncommonly
healthy, not a single person having been seen confin'd to the house by
147 sickness of any kind. On the contrary their strength and activity are
every way answerable to their muscular appearance, which they
exert both in their usual employments and diversions in such a
manner that there can be no doubt but they are as yet little debilitated
by numerous diseases, the consequences of indolence and an
481 unnatural method of life. The gracefull air and firm step with which
these people walk are not the least obvious proof of their personal
perfections. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to
be acquird that nothing us'd to excite their laughter sooner than
to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees or other
things.

Their countenances express very remarkably the abundant mild-
157 ness & good nature which they posess, and are entirely free from that
savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They
would indeed rather perswade one to believe that they had been
bred up under the severest restrictions to acquire an aspect so settled,
and such a command of their passions as well as steadiness in conduct,
but they are at the same time frank, chearfull and good
humour'd, though sometimes in the presence of their chiefs they put
on a degree of gravity and such a serious air that becomes stiff or
609 aukward & has an appearance of reserve. Their peacable disposition
is sufficiently evinc'd from the friendly reception all strangers have
[439] met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them
openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the
inhabitants of these seas,[2] they have never appear'd in the smallest
degree hostile but on the contrary like the most civiliz'd nations have
courted an intercourse with them by bartering, the only medium
609 which unites all nations in a sort of friendship. In short they seem
157 posess'd of many of the most excellent qualitys that adorn the human
685 mind as Industry, Ingenuity, Perseverance, affability and perhaps

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[1] These two other 'diseases' are one: they are both aspects of the elephantiasis which
[752] results from the mosquito-carried filariasis, which is the real disease. The Tongans used
surgery to treat the scrotal swelling—Mariner, II, pp. ci–cii; they did nothing about the
legs or arms, according to him, but Samwell speaks of 'the Scars of large Gashes . . .
seemingly with the Intention of letting out the Contents of the Tumor'.—p. 1045 below.

[2] Mariner's account (II, pp. 71–2) of the contemplated attack on the ships appears to
[721] give the lie to this; but he has the later statement, II, p. 138, 'In respect to the intended
assassination of Captain Cook, every native of Tonga would have considered it, if it had
taken place, a very base act, for which probably the gods would have punished them.'

other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent us dis- 609
covering, whereas the only crime we know they have a propensity to 685
is theft to which all sexes and ages are addicted in an uncommon
degree. It should however be consider'd that this blemish to their [157]
reputation is merely with respect to us, for amongst themselves
stealing is a crime not at all more common if so frequent as in other
countrys, though it is doubtless sometimes practic'd. In other places
the motives to such a transgression are commonly Avarice, Indolence 685
or absolute want, but here it seems to arise solely from an intense 674
curiosity or desire to posess something which they see belongs to a sort of people so different from themselves, that if it were possible a set of beings seemingly as superior in our judgment should appear amongst us, I doubt much whether our natural regard to justice would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error. That this is their true motive for such a practice appears from their stealing every thing indiscriminately at first before they are sensible it can be of the smallest utility, but I believe with us no person would risque his reputation or being punishd as the law requires without knowing this before hand, though at the same time I will not venture to say how far the curiosity that gives the first impulse with them may be exchang'd for another motive after a certain time. The circumstances, though certainly both disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, affords some information as to the quickness of their intellects in devising a method and their address in concealing what they steal, for their small thefts are commited with great dexterity and those of greater consequence with a plan or scheme suited to their importance. As an extraordinary instance of the last sort might be mention'd an attempt which they made to carry away one of the Discoverys anchors at mid-day when every body was at work about the decks. They had plac'd a Canoe under the Bow where it lay & had so far accomplish'd their purpose that it was actually unlash'd & lower'd down untill part of the fluke hookd about the chains & prevented its going farther.

The hair is in general straight, thick and strong though a few have 142
it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour I believe almost without
exception is black, but the greatest part of the men & some women 302
have it staind of a brown or purple colour and a few of an orange cast. [142]
The first is done by applying a sort of plaster of burnt coral mixd with
water and the second with the raspings of a reddish wood call'd [824]
[1] which is made up with water into a poultice and laid

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[1] ? Koka, *Bischofia javanica*: the bark would be used.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

526 a cordiality which left no room to doubt but they were convinc'd of
[157] their mutual merit & that malice had no share in urging them to the
combat. Many people likewise fought with clubs of the hard heavy
Cocoa nut stem, a diversion I think the most exceptionable they have,
both because it is in some degree cruel and requires no dexterity so
that the advantage must generally be on the side of strength. These
Champions collected in a body on each side of the circle and when
any of them wanted to engage would come and sit down in the
middle of the open space, when some from the opposite side would
advance or if not he retreated to his party. When the challenge was
accepted the pair began without any ceremony and beat from above
upon each others heads and shoulders without mercy either till they
left off by mutual consent or broke their clubs to pieces which
[177] frequently happened. It can scarcely be doubted but accidents sometimes
happen at this rough diversion, in which they all show'd a kind
of reluctance to engage, yet we saw no method they us'd to defend
themselves from the blows farther than holding down the face,
except in one man who had a very large thick semicircular breast
plate made of one piece of bone hung round his neck which they said
648 was of the manufacture of Feejee. They intended to have finishd with
the Bo'mai or night dance but an accident put a stop to our entertainment.
The Captains servant walking a very little way was surrounded
by twenty or thirty of the natives who knockd him down and
strip'd him of every thing but his shoes. The Captain immediately
seiz'd two Canoes, & not long after they brought the trowsers and a
shirt that had been stole from another person. They then brought a
young lad who they said was the thief, and in a short time a hog to
609 redeem him, but night coming on he was carried on board. I cannot
674 help observing on this occasion that in this as in all other countrys,
there are some individuals who being total strangers to every sentiment
of justice and humanity are continually watching oppurtunitys
to commit acts of violence & rapine which renders them pests
to society. In these countrys however there is a kind of intelligence
kept up, perhaps superior to the best regulated police of civiliz'd
nations, by which such offenders are so easily detected that with
respect to themselves there are probably fewer instances of this kind
[648] than in most other places. But with respect to strangers they certainly
think they can take such advantages with less risque of being discoverd,
either from their hopes of our laying aside a search which in
all probability they know must give us a great deal of trouble, or
from their being sensible of the impossibility of effecting such a
discovery without the concurrence of their chief, whom they may

suppose we would never think of applying to on such occasions. It is 609
therefore the best method if a single person or two should wish at any 674
time to traverse the country to apply to the chief, who will send a
guide which will be a perfect security against all insults, for if a 648
larger company chuses to undertake such peregrinations they are
seldom molested. At the same time it should be observ'd that it is
every persons business to avoid giving them an oppurtunity of
offering such insults, as it not only interrupts the good understanding
which ought always to be cultivated with these people, both from a
principle of humanity and as a means of obtaining with ease those
supplys of refreshment which are always wanted by ships that visit
them, but as it also exposes themselves to real danger: For though
we cannot accuse any of the natives, however bad, of an intention to
destroy or even hurt the person thus insulted, yet in the scuffle which
must always happen before they can secure the cloaths which is their
object a man may accidentally receive an irrecoverable blow.

THURSDAY 17th. The wind E. Gentle breezes and sometimes calm 132
with close sultry weather and a good deal of rain. The Captn went on
shore in the morning carrying the Indian with him whom he 114
releas'd, and in the forenoon we weigh'd and steerd SWbS to get an
offing but afterwards hauld up SSE close to the wind.

Middleburg or as the natives call it E'ooa is only leagues from 131
Tonga, and English road in Latitude Longitude
E. The shore is every where bold, for the reef of reddish
rock, almost like that at Wateeoo, which lines it in some places is 133
scarcely a hundred yards broad. The island is of
figure, about leagues in circuit, and as far as we know
has no anchoring place but in English road. That as being an open 132
road cannot be calld a place of safety, for though it lyes on the [west]
side of the island experience has not yet convincd us that the winds
from that quarter never blow with a strength sufficient to force a
ship from her anchors, and the short time we lay there inform'd us
that even when not blowing directly upon the shore a swell may be
raisd which is both troublesome and may at times cut off all communication with the shore, as few Canoes came off to us at that time.
Vegetables and hogs may be had in sufficient quantity, but water for 439
the purposes of a ship is just as difficult to procure as at Tonga, and
in other respects though a beutifull spot we found it much less convenient than that place. The anchoring ground too is not of the best 312
sort as we found the Cable much rubb'd on heaving it up this morning. The people seem not to be in that excellent subordination we 133 565

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000 covery's People left four Muskets behind them & a petty officer was
sent to fetch them off. The Tide rises and falls about two or three
feet at these Islands. They were Discovered by Capt Cook in his
last Voyage round the World, & called after Lord Palmerston then
one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Omai having lived on shore
during our Stay here was much delighted with these Islands, & used
often to say afterwards that he would come from Otaheite & settle on
them & he made no doubt but he should be able to find them out,
tho' he never was able on being asked to point out which way they
lay by the Sun or the Compass, but for all that he seem'd convinced
himself that he could steer to them in his Canoe & his Ambition
might be flattered with the Thoughts of being King of them. After
all we may rest pretty well assured that Omai will not be so foolish
as ever to make the Attempt.

121 FRIDAY APRIL 18th. We made sail & left these Islands. All thoughts
of getting to Otaheite this spring having some time ago been given up
122 on account of the easterly Winds, & as our Water began to grow
short & the Provender for the Cattle was near exhausted, the
Friendly Isles had been fixed upon as the most likely place where we
shou'd meet with Supplies, and as the Preservation of the Cattle was
a matter of some moment it was well that the Passage to Otaheite
was given up in time; for towards the latter end of the Month when
we made the friendly Isles there was hardly any food left for them in
the Ship, so that if we had been detained at Sea a little while longer
they must have perished of Want; but luckily on the 29th of April we
came in Sight of the Island of Anamooka, called by Tasman who first
439 discovered it Rotterdam. In the Afternoon two Canoes came off to
the Ship with three Men in each. They brought us some Breadfruit,
Cocoa nuts Sugar Cane and shaddocks for which we gave them a few
439 Nails. One of the Indians who was an elderly Man ventured on board
the Ship, his Body was covered over with Scars, his Speech & Action
648 were violent, and he was very earnest in relating something to us
565 which we did not understand, at the same time pointing towards the
Shore, he was much agitated during the short time he staid on board.
This Man we afterwards found to be an Age[1] or Chief. As he was a
very active Person & took a busy Part in managing the commercial
Interests of his Countrymen, & seemed to be of much weight &
consequence in the Island, he was afterwards known among us by
122 the Name of Lord North. While we were standing towards Anamooka
609 we passed several small Islands to windward of us and saw many

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[1] *'eiki*. His name was Kepa.

[pp. 987-1011 not processed]

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sailing Canoes cruising about. We came to an anchor in an open road 122 at the Island of Anamooka, on the outside of the reef facing a bay [609] with a fine sandy beach at the head of it, where some large Canoes were hauled up & many of their Houses stood under the Shade of the Cocoa nut Trees. We had many Canoes come off to us with Hogs, 439 Cocoa nuts & other Fruits which the Island afforded for which we gave them Hatchets Nails &c. which they highly prized. Capt Cook 122 went on shore in the Bay & fixed upon a House which he hired of the Indians for our Use during our Stay, which saved us the Trouble of erecting the Tents. The Astronomers lived on shore tho' they did not fix their Observatories here. The Horses, Cattle, Sheep &c. were sent [177] on shore with two Men to look after them; the Natives who had never before seen any other animal beside a Hog or a Dog were much surprized when they saw our large Cattle. People were sent on shore to wood & water; the water they got out of a large stagnant Pond which was brackish, the wood they cut down was the Mangineel Tree[1] which gave many of our People sore Eyes occasioned by the Juice flying into them. The different Parties on shore were under the 439 Command of the second Lieut, & a Market was established before the House under the Management of the Gunners of each Ship, who were the sole Persons employed to traffick with the Indians for Provisions, all other trade being strictly prohibited; a large Ring was made before the House where those who had any thing for market exposed them to sale. The Chiefs kept the rabble in order; if [565] they came too near the House they pelted them with Stones & Cocoa [689] nuts & those they could reach they banged most unmercifully with Clubs, we have seen instances of their knocking a fellow in the Head with one of their Clubs which deprived him of his Senses & he was carried off by his friends in a State of insensibility, while the Chief paraded about not minding whether he was alive or dead or seeming to take any Notice of what he had done. Thus with the assistance of the Chiefs things were carried on with regularity & the market was every Day well supplyed with Provisions.

Capt^{n} Cook was visited by the King of the Island whose Name is 648 Toobow,[2] about 30 years of age, stout and well made & of a very 565 agreeable open Countenance. We continued upon friendly terms with him by making him Presents &c. & he encouraged his Subjects to [439] bring Hogs & other Provisions to market which were our first object, tho' in a short time another article engaged our Attention from the highest to the lowest and was sought after with greater avidity than

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[1] Feta'anu, *Excoecaria agallocha*.

[2] Tupou.

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[1777]

439 the Hogs or breadfruit, & tho' it was a contraband Trade it was prosecuted with the greatest Activity & Spirit in defiance of the [648] severe Penalties with which it was loaded, & in Contempt of that [565] Danger which attended the Prosecution of this fraudulent & lucrative Traffick. This Article was no other than red Feathers. It must be [171] remembered that at Otaheite red Feathers are prized above anything whatsoever, they being the most valuable offering they make to their Gods & very scarce at that Island as they have no birds with red Plumage, this Circumstance was found out by our Circumnavigators last Voyage, who happening to bring a few red feathers with them from the Marqeses found what great Value the Otaheiteans set upon them, preferring them to every thing they had got. This being universally known in the two Ships it is no wonder that every one endeavoured to supply himself with a good Stock at these Islands where they are so plentiful, tho' these people get them from another Island. The Indians in a short time perceving our eagerness after them raised the Price of them, so that at last they became so dear that it was hardly worth our while to purchase them, as the Hatchets & Shirts we gave them would fetch as much at Otaheite as the small Quantity of Feathers they gave us for them. However every one provided himself with a good Stock before we left these Islands & [292] they turned out to very good Account at Otaheite. The Inhabitants make Caps of them & various Ornaments for their Dresses, those [301] they sold us were pasted on Cloth, & had a very beautiful appearance.

Some of us used to go every day shooting wild Ducks, a great 122 number of which were met with on a large Lagoon & some Ponds in 609 the interior Part of the Island, the Indians would generally attend us & look out for them & when they were shot run into the Pond & 241 fetch them out. Along the large lagoon which occupies a great part of the middle of ye Island are most delightful walks shaded from the 361 Sun by the branches that meet together over head; the Country 262 throughout is exceedingly well cultivated & has the appearance of a beautiful Garden; nothing can be more agreeable than the Inclosures in which their Houses stand, round which the bread fruit & Plantain Trees grow & extend their friendly Shade over the Natives, while they sit beneath them partaking of a delicious & wholesome Meal supplyed by those trees that spread their umbrageous Leaves to 133 defend them from the Rays of too near a Sun. Such enchanting Prospects does this little Isle afford that it may be said to realize the poetical Descriptions of the Elysian Fields in ancient Writers, it is certainly as beautiful a Spot as Immagination can paint; there are small Hills here & there to vary the prospect, tho' they rise to no

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considerable Height & the Island may be called low upon the whole.
It abounds with Bread fruit trees, Cocoa nuts, Yams, Plantains & 133
Tarroo root & is well stocked with Hogs & Fowls. We found no great 136
Difficulty in getting the Girls on board, for the Charms of a Hatchet,
a Shirt or a long nail they could no more withstand than we could 137
theirs which were far from being despicable. Some of these Girls 609
were exceeding handsome, tho' it was afterwards universally allowed
that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheitean 836
Ladies.

We had been at Anamooka about a Week when there arrived 648
from one of the neighbouring Isles a Chief whose authority was
acknowledged to be superior to that of Toobow the King of the 634
Island. He was taken on board the Ship by Capt Cook & treated with
respect suitable to his Dignity, & presented with a Cotton Gown,
Hatchets, Beads & other Things with which he was well pleased. 634
The Name of the great Personage we found was Phenow,[1] he is about [141]
thirty years of age, not robust but tall & well made & exceedingly
active & lively with a majestic Countenance & a noble and manly [142]
Deportment, his forehead is high, his Nose Aquiline & his Eye
penetrating and full of fire, his Hair thick & flowing over his
Shoulders. He seemed to be possessed of a mind intelligent, firm,
elevated & generous; His manners were free and engaging. In his
intercourse with us he shewed a keeness and Penetration that distinguished
him as a great Character. In a short time he became a
Favourite with all, & tho' afterwards we met with Chiefs of higher
rank than him he still continued to be the most popular Man among
us while we staid at these Islands. He generally had three or four of
his Mistresses attending him who were very handsome women. He 634
made Capt. Cook several Presents of red Feathers, Hogs & Fruits &
he spent much of his time on board the Resolution where many 648
things engaged his attention, more particularly the great Guns & 177
small arms; to gratify his Curiosity a great gun was fired with Ball [431]
towards the Shore which was about a mile distant, another was fired
afterwards on the other side towards the open sea. We saw them both
light & the astonishment which they created in Phenow & the other
Chiefs who were on board may be much easier conceived than
described; two or three more Guns were fired, when Phenow partly
terrified with the Explosion & perfectly satisfied with the Execution
of them told us that he desired no more. At the same time that this
Experiment pleased & gratified the Curiosity of the Indian Chief, it
impressed him with a Dread of our Power, which no doubt was of use

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[1] Finau. Why Samwell spells the name with 'Ph' is a mystery.

634 to us in our future intercourse with his Countrymen. We staid at this
648 Island till Wednesday the 14th of May, when we set sail to the NE
[177] with a fair Wind, Capt Cook having been informed of some Islands
called Happai which lay in that direction & were under the Dominion
[122] of Phenow, who had invited him thither with a promise of a plentiful
Supply of Hogs & other Provisions. Phenow in his large sailing Canoe
attended by many others set sail along with us.

122 FRIDAY MAY the 16th we came in sight of the Islands & the next
Morning we anchored in a good Bay about a Mile from the Shore.
101 These Islands besides being called Happai have each a seperate
Name; they are joined to one another by reefs, are in Number
& extend considerably in length from NNE to SSW but not much in
122 breadth. Our Passage here from Anamooka was tedious considering
the Distance being no more than fourteen Leagues in a direct Line.
We passed several small Islands in our Way, among the rest the high
Island on which is a Volcano[1] & which is to be seen from Anamooka.
609 The Sailing Canoes that accompanied us went on shore to
one of these Islands every night & as we lay to after sunset they joined
us again in the Morning, they sailed much quicker than we did, their
634 rate of going being about three miles to our two. After coming to an
Anchor we were surrounded with a great Number of the natives in
648 their Canoes loaded with Hogs, Breadfruit, Plantains, Cocoa nuts
&c. & Phenow came on board the Ship to welcome us on our arrival
here.

648 SATURDAY MAY 20th. This Day was dedicated entirely to martial
Exercises, Dances & other amusements which were conducted with
541 great regularity & afforded much Pleasure both to us and the
Indians. Phenow having expressed a desire of seeing our military
648 Exercise, this being a fine morning presented an opportunity of
177 gratifying his Curiosity in this Particular, accordingly Captn Cook
ordered the Marines of both Ships on Shore under the Command of their Lieut. & a midshipman dressed in his Uniform to carry an English Jack before them on a long Staff. A prodigious Number of the Natives were collected together on the Beach & a large Space was left clear for our People. Captn Cook with some of the officers of each Ship sat in a House at the upper end of the open Area along with Phenow & the Chiefs of the Island. The Marines were drawn up facing them & went through their Evolutions to the great admiration of the Natives, who were astonished at seeing the Balls light at a considerable distance in the Sea. Phenow willing to see their effect

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[1] Tofua.

648 Combat. Some time afterwards it was observed that the Exercise
541 performed by a few Men commanded only by two Chiefs was something
different from that before described, for here the two Chiefs
[701] brandishing their Clubs ran backwards & forwards along the front
of the Line, & were distinguished as the Commanders by performing
a seperate Duty from their Men.

648 When these Exercises were over, Preparations were made by us
177 for exhibiting Fireworks in the Evening, The Gunner having some in
his charge for the purpose. While these were getting ready some of us
took a walk a little way into the Country, which was exceedingly
648 beautiful & pleasant, & they were treated by the People wherever
526 they went with the greatest Kindness and Hospitality; others
[541] remained on the Campus Martius (if it may be so called) & were
[609] entertained with boxing Matches by the Women. A Woman
advanced a little way into the Ring & sat down which was understood
as a Challenge & was not long unaccepted of; in the boxing
they neither close nor pull hair & aim all their blows at the face
taking care not to strike lower. As the engagement is not suffered to
continue long it is seldom decisive, for after having exchanged 5 or
6 Blows some Friend steps between & parts them & they return to
their Seats. Two fine Young Girls advancing one of our Gentlemen
got up & interposed which produced loud Shouts of Applause and
much mirth. This Diversion having lasted some time was succeeded
by another Exercise which may be termed rather barbarous & cruel.
Several young Men made their appearance with Clubs made of the
green branches of the Cocoa nut tree about three feet long & 3 or 4
inches in thickness, they advance into the ring making Motions &
flourishes which are meant as general Challenges; afterwards particular
Challenges are given, when all retire except the two Combatants
who fall to & bang one another most unmercifully till one of the
Clubs broke or one of them was knocked down which put an end to
648 the Conflict. The News of the Fire works had before night spread
177 over most part of the Island and drawn together a prodigious
Concourse of People & among them the greatest number of beautiful
Girls that we had yet seen. They were all waiting with eager Expectation
when about 8 o'Clock the first Piece, a Water Rocket, was
played off; it is not possible to convey by words an adequate Idea of
the Astonishment & Surprize they expressed at seeing fire burn in the
Sea, & now & then even diving under water, then rising & shining
with redoubled Lustre & at last going off with a sudden & unexpected
Explosion. They knew not what to think of us or of what
they saw. They had hardly recovered from the Astonishment into

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439 We were soon surrounded by a great number of Canoes full of men
who behaved in a friendly manner to us and sold us Hogs, Cocoa nuts,
Plantains and other fruits for nails & beads.

122 JUNE 11th. The Tents with the 2 Astronomers' Observatories were
erected on shore under a Guard of Marines, & all our live Stock was
landed which consisted of 4 Horses, several head of Cattle, Sheep,
Goats & Hogs with Peacocks, Turkies & Geese. Our Tents were
situated at the upper end of a fine Area surrounded by Trees, it seems
to be a place appropriated for the Exhibition of Public Games, such
as wrestling, boxing &c. Close to the Tents was one of the Chiefs
Houses, behind them lay a thick wood, on the right an Inlet which
extended a considerable way up but was dry at low water, on the left
was the Harbour where we could see between the Trees the Ships at
anchor; the Observatories were erected without the Area close to the
Beach but within sight of the Tents, they were inclosed with a Hedge
[312] & always guarded by a Sentry. Near the Tents was a pool of in-
different fresh Water, of which there are many in the Island and are
[515] used as bathing places by the Natives. Powlohow took up his resi-
177 dence in a House a little way without the Area, that next to the Tents
was occupied by his Consent by some of the Gentlemen who were
825 ordered a shore on duty, and another little Hut close by was allotted
[122] us for the use of our Cattle & Poultry, whose appearance excited as
[643] much astonishment and admiration as a Collection of wild Beasts at a
Country fair in England. The Indians were a long time before they
could be persuaded to approach near to the Horses & Cattle, but our
Sheep & Goats, being more like their Hogs, they did not regard with
the same degree of Terror tho' it was some time before they became
thoroughly reconciled to the Goats; these on being approached by
the Indians would rear on their hind Legs & make a push at them,
which put them in bodily fear & often made whole armies fly.
However they found out by degrees that they were as innocent as the
Sheep & only more playful, so that at last the Indians passed by them
648 or advanced up to them without any dread. During the time of
erecting our Tents we were surrounded by a great Number of
609 Indians who behaved in an orderly and peaceable Manner and at
643 night retired to their several Homes except the attendants of Powlo-
how, who remained with him at his House waiting for his Supper.
[431] Some Servants arrived with provisions enough for a Hundred men
which Powlohow, after a basket or two were laid by for himself,
ordered to be laid at the Doors of our Tents as a present for our
people together with a number of Cocoa nuts; the provision he

presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were 648
very well cooked.

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his 609
own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the 643
addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some [431]
Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh
Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as 644
they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects 644
to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again immediately; 643
the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid 264
upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh [262]
Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt [271]
before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding
remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] [576]
waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed [516]
them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one
putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as
soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every
thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put
by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air.
Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make preparations 644
for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out
on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of 643
Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon 513
laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him [352]
over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat
down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his
Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old
King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible
on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an [164]
asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the
young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called
& laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half
busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respectfully
kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet &
touching them with her head, however there are always women in
waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on 177
hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was
alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went 648
directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

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[1] *matapule*, titled ceremonial attendants.

[2] *tukituki*.

648 put an interdiction upon all Trade, which they call Taboo, which is
always most religiously observed by all the Natives; from hence it
439 appears how necessary it is to cultivate the good will & Friendship
123 of the Chiefs, which Captn Cook never failed to do, and of his
extraordinary good management of Indians nothing can be a
122 stronger proof than the ample Supplies we procured at all the Islands
784 we touched at. When Powlohow first visited Captn Cook at the
Happai Islands, among other things he asked him what he wanted at
648 these Isles, which rather surprized him as we had never such a
question proposed to us before at any of the South Sea Islands, the
643 natives contenting themselves with staring at us with vacant astonish-
439 ment & getting what they could from us without enquiring what
brought us amongst them or what we wanted. This gave us no mean
opinion of his Understanding; being answered that we touched here
for refreshments he told us we should have whatever the Country
afforded. The old King after a little further Acquaintance with us,
observing that we paid the best price for Women & Hogs, concluded
that these were the Commodities we were in search of & that wherever
they abounded we should be glad to go, & being very desirous
that we should visit Tongataboo, the largest of his Islands, He urged
Captn Cook strongly to go there, always enforcing his Intreaties with
that irresistible Argument, wurrow wurrow Booaga, wurro wurrow
Phaphenee,[1] that is, that in that Island we should be supplied with
plenty of fine Hogs & fine women.

122 Omai having a dispute one day with the Corporal of Marines,
struck him while upon duty, on which the Man returned the blow,
at this Omai was highly offended & made his Complaint to Captn
Cook, but not receiving that redress which he expected he took the
Resolution of staying behind at these Islands & with that Intention
set off for a distant part of the Country & took Tayweherooa the
New Zealand Boy along with him; a messenger was sent after him &
he was prevailed upon to return the next day & matters were made
up to his satisfaction, tho' Captn Cook would not punish the Corporal
648 as Omai had struck him while upon duty. The Island being exceeding
beautiful & pleasant & the weather almost constantly fair, hardly a
609 day passed but some small party of the Gent. of both Ships made
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[1] Samwell's Tongan here is a little doubtful. The word *lau* would mean 'plenty of', in the sense of an indefinite number, and would give him his '-row'; but possibly the 'old King's' irresistible argument was not based on numbers but on quality, and he was saying *ualoa*, in the sense of upstanding or large. (Tongan informants think this likely, though the word would now be applied to a tall thin person, and not to animals.) In Tongan eyes, quantity in both women and pigs would be synonymous with quality: therefore *ualoa puaka, ualoa fefine*.

Excursions into different parts of the Country, among others I shall 648
here mention the reception that four of us met with on a Visit we
paid to Toobow, a Chief of the first Consequence who lived about 3 609
or four miles along shore to the Eastward of our Tents. On our arrival 565
being made known to him by the great Croud that accompanied us [431]
the old Chief came out of his Inclosure & met us on the highway, &
then conducted us to his House where we were entirely free from the [576]
Croud, none of whom dared to follow us into his Inclosure; he desired
us to sit down which we did & then made him a present of Nails
& other things, for which he thanked us by putting each article to his
head, which is the Custom of these people on receiving any Gift; after
a little while his wives of which he has 2 or 3 came in & sat down with
us, first having paid their respect to Toobow by touching his foot
with their Heads & then with the back & palm of their Hands, and
this Ceremony they always use on coming to his presence as well as on
leaving him. He made some apologies to us in that he was not able to 648
get us any thing for dinner but fish, all the Hogs being at this time
under a Taboo as they had supplied the Ships with as many as they 609
could spare, & this shews How strictly the Chiefs themselves observe 262
those Laws which they make for the public Good. However we made [184]
an excellent Dinner of baked fish & yams, & having brought some
Brandy with us which mixed with the Cocoa nut Milk makes a most
excellent Drink we were not in a Humour to find fault, on the
Contrary we spent a merry afternoon. Toobow having provided a 648
Company of dancers to entertain us, we in our Turns entertained
with Country dances on the green before the House, at which Toobow 609
was much delighted, & we were altogether so pleased with our 836
honest Host & the cordial manner in which he entertained us that
we resolved to stay at his House all night, & to encourage us in this [264]
resolution He promised to procure a mistress for each of us, we wanted [262]
no more & Toobow was as good as his word. About 12 o'Clock we [513]
were waked by the Servants to a repast of fish & yams which was
provided for us (it seems to be a common Custom with these people
to eat ab^t that time of night), we partook of some of it with our
Dulcineas who were all fine Girls & did Honour to Toobow's
Hospitality, we all laid together in one room upon Matts & were
covered with a large Quantity of Indian Cloth. One Girl hearing a [833]
rustling of the bed Cloaths at one time of the Night cried out
'Cohaiia'[1]—ie. what is the matter? the other who was the occasion of
it & then employed ab^t some business or other very innocently

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[1] *ko e ha.*

648 answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning
but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their
609 Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have
[836] no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his
[833] friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous &
ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who
wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we
759 had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone
far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit
[634] with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized
[302] at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason
of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his
assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the
Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is
the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and
venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by
his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes
of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the
grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language
Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity
to learn.

216 Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the
Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking
574 it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who
[565] sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards
[512] him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water
at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a
[415] servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews
it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in
making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into
Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these
Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which
every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

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[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuavai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuavai*.

142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them
somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female
softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who
from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we
saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at
Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm
291 with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of
Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of
[301] Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the
[237] Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class
[824] of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee
order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a
565 graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the
superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a
302 young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament,
[765] which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own
Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it
831 than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies
of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most
565 lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came
on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for
609 Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for
836 the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their
bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a
846 certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the
302 Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that
595 none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the
generality of the people having only one.

565 We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a
Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons &
143 appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can
hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough &
cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the
skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of
the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that
is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly
appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We
saw no Women of this Colour.

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[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[853] [3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

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presently	anai
now	anai-eenee
Co-haiia?	What's this
Mogoo doogoobe	a Gift or to give
Stone	Phee-emooa
white	Heena
red	goola
black or blue	ooree
Here	enee
sit down	anofo
below	lalo
to look	dugeedooa
Raw	oda-mada
Ripe	mo-moho
many	loogoodangalahee
a few	loogoodangajee
Cold	anoofea
Hot	vela
high	fooa
to kiss	oomma
well done	Maree-ch
Thank you	manoo
Come here	Haw
Go away	Aroo
I have none	Ogooi-cai

Make me a present	mai mea mogoo
go & bring it	aroo-omai
to come again	be-haw-aw
to smell	manava
Yes!	ee-o
No!	ekai
I	aw
You	coi
He	ee-e
Give or reach me	mai
Let me see	momada
Beads	Ha-howa
To trade	Fu-kattaw
to give	Fu-kafatai
Venereal Disease	Pabanga
to cut	Daffa
a term of disapprobation in common use among them	ee-sah
Sick	mahagee
well or in health	Mo-ooi

1 2 3 4
Taha ewa doroo fa
5 6 7 8
neema ono feedoo varoo
9 10
eiva ongofooroo

N. One of the following Lines the Girls frequently sing at the same time smacking the Finger and Thumb together 533 539

Doo seea sau neea daw fai ojee-mai

Sooee la soo-ee, ĕh langeemai langee-ĕh

Edoomelageea fucatabageea langeed-emelama langeedōdō

The following words they repeat in their common Dances [535]

Aina fogee aina fogee &c

These Words the Men sung altogether on approaching the Ship in their large Sailing Canoes [648] [609]

Edareeāh edagōdò &c

These monosyllables they use in hoisting the Sail of the Canoe as a direction for all to exert their Force together [461]

ee ō yā ĕh &c

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[1777]

122 Sunset came to an anchor. We are bound for the Island of Middle-
burgh called by the Natives Oo-hā.[1]

FRIDAY JULY 11th. Weighed & sailed, turning to windward all the Afternoon, got throug[h] the Passage, & by midnight having weathered the Easternmost Part of Tongataboo, we stood to the SSW for Oo-hā.

SATURDAY JULY 12th. This forenoon we came to an anchor be-
tween the N & W Points of the Island Oohā or Middleburgh about
2 or 3 miles distant from the Shore. Many Canoes came round the
609 Ships. Captn Cook went ashore & a Market was opened for Provisions
648 on a Platt of Ground near the landing Place, the King of the Island
attended Captn Cook on board who sent him ashore with many
439 presents, & among the rest he gave him a Ram & a Yew, which he
set a greater Value upon than Malawagee had. Pheenow had pro-
634 posed to accompany us hither, but was prevented by the Death of
764 some old Woman of distinction whose funeral he was obliged to
302 attend, & on whose account he had the Hair of his Head cut off
according to the Custom among these Islands.

439 SUNDAY JULY 13th. Our Boats ashore trading for Provisions & some
609 Canoes about the Ships.

TUESDAY JULY 15th. Captain Cook, Omai & some other Gentlemen
439 went ashore & others to trade for Provisions. In the Place where the
Market was held an Indian was killed by some of his Countrymen; it
684 seems that his Crime was endeavouring to force one of the Agee
Girls, when it was so highly resented by her Friends that accidentally
seeing him among the Croud they fell upon him with Clubs & put
him to death; the Man threw himself for Protection among our
648 People but they could not save him. In the afternoon two of the
Resolutions people, walking in the Country, were stripped & beat
685 by the Indians, they came naked to our People at the Market place
who gave them something to throw over them. Captn Cook being
ashore sent for a reinforcement of marines, which arriving soon after
had such an Effect upon the Agee or Chiefs that not only the Clothes
were returned but one of the Thieves was deliverd up, & he was
carryed Prisoner on board the Resolution where the poor fellow
expected to be put to Death. However he was ransomed next day
for a large Hog.

142 Considering the small Distance between this Island and Tonga-
taboo the difference between the Natives is remarkable, these being

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[1] 'Eua.

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a small sized mean-looking People in comparison with the others & 142
the women in general are not so handsome. A few of them lay on
board the Ship every night. 609 ●

The Island is high & of a very beautiful appearance; the Hilly part
is covered with Verdure & the skirts of the Island along the Sea 133
Shore covered with Cocoa nut, Breadfruit & other Trees; they have 137
many Shaddocks here; the Produce of it is the same as that of Tonga- 241
taboo. We got no water here.

THURSDAY JULY 17th. This forenoon we got under Sail with the 312
wind at SE and stood to the southward, at Sunset took our Departure
from Oohā bearing NE distant 2 or 3 Leagues, which was the last we 122
saw of the Friendly Isles. We are now shaping our Course for
Otaheite.

FRIDAY AUGUST 8th. Nothing remarkable happened on our Pas- 000
sage, till to day when in Lat. 24 S we fell in with the South east Trade and about noon discovered an Island to the Northward of us; we ran towards it till Sunset when we hauled our Wind & stood off & on during the night.

SATURDAY AUGUST 9th. At day light bore away for the Land, at 7 o'Clock hauled round the SW Point and soon after brought to under the lee of the Island. Sounded & had ground at 30 fathoms fine sand at the distance of about half a mile from the Reef. Several Canoes came off to the Ships but would not venture on board, but kept shouting to us at a distance. Omai understood their Language very well and spoke to them but still they were afraid of trusting themselves on board, he asked them the Name of the Island & they told him it was called Oto-boo-ee[1]: As there was no prospect of a Harbour or of getting any thing here, at nine o'Clock Captn Cook made sail & steered again for Otaheite. This Island is between four and five miles in length, is surrounded by a reef at a good distance from the Shore, with Openings that seemed navigable for Ships, it is high uneven Land, it appeared on our first making it like two Islands, being low in the middle & high at each end; at a little distance from the East end lay three small Islands. Lat. 23°22′ S, Long 210°50′ E. The people seemed in their Persons like the Otaheiteans, their Canoes were quite different in Shape from those of Otaheite & were painted of various Colours.

AUGUST 12th. Early this Morning we saw Osnaburgh Island & soon after came in Sight of Otaheite to the great pleasure of every one on board. Omai sat all day on the forecastle viewing his Native Shores

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[1] Tubuai.

[pp. 1051-1300 not processed]

[1777]

175 able, upon account of the various Isles and reefs (which are delineated in
the Survey) that a good deal interrupt and impede your Navigation;
175 however we anchor'd off them very well on the 17 Instant. Here we likewise
found our friend Feenow, Lord of all, and he certainly did behave in
634 a very friendly, liberal manner, making us large Presents of Hogs, Yams
609 &c, for which, tho' he was ever amply rewarded, still I give him Credit,
for it certainly has a more generous and social appearance than that of
absolute bargaining.

[177] On the 20th Instant by his desire the Party of Marines from both Ships
were taken on shore and exercised before him and his Court; they seem'd
much pleas'd at their various Maneuvres, and perfectly happy at their
175 Entertainment. As soon as our People had done, Feenow with about an
hundred of his principal Men got up and in return gave us a dance (what
609 they call a heavah) to the Tune of their Drums, and some Men who set
535 round the Drummers, at the same time singing; the Dancers all join'd in
[533] the vocal Musick and accompanied their bodily Movements with those
of a light wooden Implement between 2 & 3 feet in length (the form as in
[293] the Margin)[1] which they have for this Purpose. The amazing exactitude of
their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their
Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the
least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any Company
[292] of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my Life. They were decorated upon
this Occasion, with Cloth of various Colours, which set off their Persons,
that were by Nature exceeding good, to much Advantage; this with the
perfect regularity of their motions gave them a most striking and pleasing
175 Appearance. The Evening concluded with Fireworks, with which Capt
Cook treated them: they were exceedingly amaz'd at the extraordinary
177 revolutions of the Water Rockets in the Water; this must appear to them
indeed most wonderfull, that two of the most opposite Elements in Nature,
shou'd, for such a length of Time, seemingly act in conjunction.

175 Feenow during our Stay here treated us with many Heavah's and
Amusements of various kinds; some perform'd by Women, these were
609 generally in the Evening after Sunset; but we were very well illumin'd by
535 burning the dry'd Leaf of the Palm Tree and some ribs of the Coco Nut
[372] Leaf, on which was stuck Nuts containing an oily Substance, which
infusing itself into the Stalk and communicating the Oil as it melted from
one to the other, gave a light by no means inferior to our Candles. The
[292] Ladies were peculiarly attir'd for these Exhibitions in various colour'd
robes, in which they look'd very gracefull and beautifull; they perform'd
to the Musick of Drums and singing, were perfectly regular in their
Motions, which however were to us altogether novel, curious & laughable;
the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and
every thing was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality.
175 If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in
609 the vying of the Performers and Spectators which shoul'd most emphati-

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[1] There is no drawing in the margin. The 'instrument' was the *paki*.

cally express their satisfaction and approbation of each other. We were 175
likewise entertain'd with wrestling Matches, at which exercise they shew
great strength and agility, at the boxing Matches, in which they strike 609
very hard, but have little Idea of catching a blow; they sometimes avoid
it by feats of activity in skipping and bobbing aside, but are Strangers to 175
the art of Broughtonizing.[1] The Women are introduc'd into these boxing 609
Matches, and do pay one another about the Face and Eyes most intoler-
ably; this however we put aside in some measure during our Stay, for to 542
us who are accustom'd to pay such attention to the Ladies, it appear'd a 526
most unnatural and barbarous Amusement. The Men sometimes fought [152]
with Clubs, made with the large End of Coco Tree Branches, with which
they bang'd each other about the Head most heartily: now thro' all this
Boxing, fighting &c, wherein they must very frequently have been most
miserably hurt, such was their great good Nature and happy disposition,
that I never saw any thing like a passion or the least heat of temper upon
any of these Occasions among them; but tho' they were thus set on to
knock each other about for the Amusement of their Superiors, they went
thro' the whole Ceremony, and put up with the very disagreeable Sensations
it must have occasion'd, with the same Complacency they wou'd
have shewn in the most innocent and pleasing Amusements.

On the 27th arrived here another great Man from Amsterdam whose 175
Name was Fatafa Powlahow, who gave us to understand he was Agi- 643
lahi, or King, of it and all the various Isles in the Neighbourhood: to 634
corroborate this account, he was shewn all manner of respect and attention
by the People, as indeed was Feenow, who at this time was absent [431]
upon a Visit to an Isle he call'd Vow-Vow,[2] which he told us was only one
days sail from this Place, and from which he promised to make an ex- [484]
peditious return with an abundant Present of red Feathers, and Hogs.

This Story of the rival Kings appear'd *very extraordinary*, but Capt
Cook and myself of course, courted the friendship of King Powlahow, as at
any rate we saw he must be a Man of extensive Power, and consequently
by us to be attended to, However as Feenow did not return to the time he
had promis'd, we concluded that his Absence was to avoid the disagreeable
ceremony of an Interview with a Man, where his hitherto boasted Laurels
must fall to the Ground.

On the 28 Instant, having far'd at these Isles as our Friend Feenow had 175
promised, most luxuriously; we weigh'd and stood again for Anamooka,
where we anchor'd on June the 6th. Capt Cook had sown some Seeds of 114
various kinds during our last Stay here, and was desirous of seeing how the
Country agreed with them; some he found in a tolerable State, but
others of them had been so ill used by Insects, as to render their being of
future Service rather improbable.

Both Powlahow and Feenow soon join'd us here; I was present at the 175
first Interview that happen'd between them, when Feenow did the homage 634
of a Subject to Powlahow, but with such a dejection of countenance and

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[1] See note on Samwell, p. 1028 above. 643

[2] Vava'u.

175 such apparent depression of Mind (I suppose in consequence of its hap-
634 pening before severall of us to whom he had beking'd himself) that I cou'd
643 not help participating in a great measure in his distress; indeed I am not
much surpriz'd at this Usurpation of Feenow's, for he certainly concluded
that the more honorary and dignified he shou'd appear, the more he might
be able to get from us; was this the case I cannot conceive it for Indians,
who have so few opportunities of the kind, very illaudable; upon this
Principle he wou'd have the Sanction of the Bulk of Mankind both
humaniz'd and wild to plead in his excuse, for I think it seems a pretty
general maxim with most Men to make as much of their Neighbours, or
any other incidental Connexion as they conveniently can; but to proceed.

On the 8th we again departed from Rotterdam and stood for Amster-
175 dam, where we anchor'd on the 11th Instant. Here we found a repetition
609 of the Civilities we had experienc'd at the other Isles, abuntantly enjoying
the many good things, with which all bountifull Providence seems in a
175 peculiar manner to bless these happy Isles. We were here soon given to
understand there was a Man at a little distance still greater than Powla-
643 how; Capt Cook and myself beg'd to be conducted to him, that we might
576 have the honour of paying our respects; this we address'd to Powlahow,
292 who answer'd that nobody was admitted to his Presence with their
Cloaths on; if we did go to him, we must be naked to the Waist, and at the
same time added he wou'd ere now have visited the Ships, but was given
to understand by those who had been on board, that during their Stay in
the Captains Apartment, which of course was the principal one of the
Ship, there were People walk'd over their Heads; this he said Mallawogga,[1]
which was the Name of this formidable Chief, cou'd not possibly admit of,
for any Man in Nature being above his Head wou'd be consider'd as a
[123] diminution to his Honour, and an insult to his Consequence. To these
extraordinary arguments we return'd, that our King never exacted any
such Mark of respect as stripping before him, that we pull'd our Hats off
in his Presence, which we were ready to do in King Mallawogga's; that it
was highly preposterous in King Mallawogga to think of more respect
from us than King George, who was so infinitely a greater Prince, whose
Subjects were so numerous, that we were so very inconsiderable a part as
wou'd scarcely ever be miss'd were we never more to appear at Home; yet
we trifling handfull of King George's subjects cou'd with all ease dispossess
or even destroy King Mallawogga and every subject he had got; having
thus argued with Powlahow, he engaged to carry us the next Morning
to Mallawogga's and favour us so far as to introduce us with our
Cloaths on.

175 Accordingly on the Morrow, which was the 13th Instant, I attended
643 Capt Cook, & having first equip'd ourselves with some of our choisest
123 presents for this mighty Prince, we set out in our Boats with Powlahow for
the regal Apartments. After a Row of about 2 Leagues, which was latterly
609

[1] Maealiuaki. Clerke seems to hear an *l* in names where others—e.g. Cook—hear an *r*.

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in a fine spacious Pleasant Bay, we were landed in a delightfull part of the 175
Island, most numerously inhabited. We were conducted amidst many
hundreds of our good Friends to a large House where we were desir'd to 643.
set down and wait till Mallawogga was prepar'd for our reception. After 123
waiting till our patience was pretty well exhausted, we began to be 609
inquisitive to know when his Majesty wou'd be enough at leisure to give
us a few minutes Audience; some to whom we address'd ourselves told us
his Majesty was taken very ill; others that he was retir'd to his religious
Offices; others again told us he was gone to the Ships: this last we knew
was a very improbable Assertion for had that been the Case, we must have
seen something of him in our way hither, however it requird no great
degree of divination to find out that his Majesty, be he where he wou'd,
was not dispos'd to see company, at least us that Day, which being now
pretty well convinc'd of, we walk'd again towards the Boats; in our way
thither, Powlahow wou'd fain have introduc'd us to another Gentleman,
who he said though not a King was a very great Man; but our visit today
being professedly to his Majesty, and not feeling any great Exultation at
the Turn affairs had taken, we did not find ourselves dispos'd to any
farther introductions for the present, so got to our Boats and made the best
of our way for the Ships again. The next day we were given to understand [124]
that Mallawogga was on shore a little distance from our Tents; in the
afternoon I accompanied Capt Cook to pay our respects; we found him
setting under a Tree, surrounded by many of his great Men and a multitude of the rabble: he is a very old Man, I think clearly arriv'd to his
second Childhood; however we were graciously receiv'd, pay'd our respects, made our presents and set down by him; after about 2 Hours
conversation, but confusedly understood on both Sides (for we are as yet
by no means perfect in their language and they know not the least of ours)
we got up and took our leaves; the old Gentleman in return for his presents gave us some large Pieces of Cloth, and we parted very good Friends.
The old Boy now took up his Quarters among us, as before had our old 175
Acquaintance Powlahow and Feenow, with many Chiefs of less Distinction, so that we pass'd our time in all the luxury and festivity that this 643
Country afforded; in the first place in respect to Diet, we far'd sumptuously every day, and in the next we were very frequently entertain'd 609
with Musick both vocal and instrumental, Dancing, Wrestling, Fighting
&c in the manner I have before related.

On the 18th We had our Marines on Shore, who went through the 175
various Maneuvres of their Exercise before them and in the Evening we
set off some Fireworks with which they were both delighted and astonish'd. 177
We soon had reason to observe that they had aggrandized old Mallawogga 175
to the degree they did only to forward some favourite Scheme of theirs; I
conclude upon the same principal that Feenow before had beking'd 634
himself; for it may be necessary here to observe, that upon all Introductions to Indian Chiefs, you make your way, with a present in your hand, 643
and they of course conclude that this present is generally calculated

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 told them, they might now see how easy it was for us to destroy not only
177 the earth, but the water & the Sky; & some of our sailors were seriously
perswading their hearers, that by means of the sky rockets we had made stars.

175 *ff. 82v–83.* MONDAY 23^{d} [JUNE.] Some of our officers had taken a long
177 walk in the country with their muskets, but before they returnd the Natives
609 contrivd to steal them all from them; they desird my assistance to recover
565 them & Omai's, who immediately went to acquaint the King with this
very bad behaviour to our principal Officers, he promisd to use his endeavours, but at day light he & Feenow were fled; Fatafee told me that they woud not return for fear of being serv'd as before; that he expectd the Capt^{n} would wreak his vengeance on him & that he was prepar'd for the worst. Powlohow had two or three times ventur'd to express his dislike at the confinement 2 days ago, & that he believd Capt^{n} Cook wou'd kill him. It is certain that he dreaded the consequences; the Capt^{n} was very angry at Omai's interfering in this business. The two chiefs were sent for & promises made that no hurt should befal them, & that the Capt^{n} did not care whether the Muskets were deliver'd or not; this brought back Feenow in the Evening & Powlohow next day. Powlohow repeatd again that no Gentleman shoud go in the Country without acquainting him, when they should be attended by some of his People who coud protect them, & he also said he coud not be answerable for the conduct of a number of theives about us; the trouble these people gave him & us made him very desirous for our going on board, & he wish'd to be at liberty to go about some affairs of his own. He was however kept from leaving us by the Capt^{n} promising to go with him to Moa, the place up the Inlet or bay & of his principal residence, the Capt^{n} & a party accordingly went with him on the 25th. They returnd on the 27th, & during that time we had the good fortune to have preserv'd peace & hinderd thefts, owing to the care of
175 Fatafee & Feenow. A very untoward spirit had posses'd our working
177 parties & soldiers on shore, they had indulg'd the Natives with great
609 liberties, & had made trials of skill in boxing & wrestling with them,
although in general unsuccessfull which they did not take so patiently as they ought; this had rais'd a freedom & contempt of our People among the lower sort, & which they shew'd by gestures & acts. This made our sailors & Marines quite angry, which was the principal cause of the others still persisting in plagueing them; they woud laugh, heave bits of wood & run off. Out of respect or fear of Fatafee they never molestd our parties when (being his friend) I was with them; & he himself tried to find out these troublesome fellows. They woud sometimes make very open thefts & glory in it: to put a stop to these proceeding's, Centries were placed by the Carpenters, & loaded with shot with orders to fire if any one was very insolent; at the same time Cutlashes & Pistols which our working men took with them to chastise the Natives were taken from them, & orders [given] that no notice shoud be taken of their childish tricks: but after the Capt^{n}

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

had come down, one man behav'd very rude & tried to snatch a tool, on 175
which the centry fird & hit the man who made off, & those with him. At 177
the same time at another place where they had been throwing pieces of 609.
Coco nut to vex some of the Officers they were chas'd, but as numbers were
flying it was not possible to know who were the Agressors, however three
were seiz'd on & bound, till the Captⁿ came on shore; one of the three was
an old Offender, & another was also known to be a principal in making
disturbances, but in the present case was not guilty, the third had been
lug'd out of a hut where it was said he had hid himself; this man was a
servant of Powlahow, who always handed him his Victuals, he said he had
been asleep when this fray happend; Fatafee desir'd he might be releas'd
but his request was refus'd, & he went away. Feenow tried if he coud buy
him off, but as some of the Gentlemen thought they knew the man to be an
Offender, the Captⁿ would hear nothing in any of their favours, but had
them tied up & well floggd; the servant had an additional punishment
besides flogging, which savour'd of cruelty, & gave great offence to the
Chiefs, as well as to all the standers by.[1] The Centry's fyring & this
Punishment put a stop for a time to their insolent behaviour. I shoud have [171]
mention'd one circumstance which shews a strong similitude in the customs [593]
of these People & those of Otaheite: that the wives or relations of some of [304]
these culprits came, & made terrible lamentations, cutting the top of their
head with a Sharks tooth, as is practis'd there.

ff. 85v–86. [8 JULY.] A very extraordinary personage went along with me 175
call'd Latoonoobooloo, he who was shewn to the Captⁿ last Voyage as the 177
first Chief & whom we had seen at Happai; he had frequently visit'd us at 571
the Observatory, but made a short stay at a time; his temporary hut was
on the outskirts of all the rest; he is much madder than his sister whom we 644
have noticed as receiving that particular homage from Powlohow, who 604
we judge from an instance to day is also inferior in some respects to the 565
brother, although in others higher, since this mad fellow walkd in the [609]
procession as a common chief; he was wanting to give me a hog, & not [576]
knowing where else to find me but at Powlohows house, he came there [264]
roaring out for me; Poulohow had just begun his dinner, but the coming
in of this man made strange confusion, the dinner was hastily remov'd or
coverd over with cloth. Powlohow sat seemingly vexd, & very grave, the
attendants star'd at one another; Latoonoobooloo on seeing Powlohow sat
himself down with that strange aspect which was common to him; I
rous'd him from his seat & relievd the Company by taking him & his
attendants with the hog away with me; Although the People were very
conscious of his being wanting in his mind, yet they paid him great respect
& deference, & if he chose any thing they had, he woud take it from them
& give it me; upon farther enquiry who & what this singular person was,
we were told he was the son of Powlohows aunt (living at Va va hoo) by a
Feegee man. There is another sister besides the one here, who lives with her 175 177 644 604 565

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[1] This was the arm-slashing, which outraged some of Cook's officers also.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

mother; whenever we ask'd what they were, & if very superior people, 175
they woud be surpris'd at the Question, & said they were Tamaha's, a 177
distinguishing name higher than any, but what particular meaning is in 644
the word, we coud not find out. Although from their fathers country they 604
might not be intitled to power & Possesions, yet their superior rank may 565
arise from that line, as they generally admit that they are oblig'd to shew [576]
signs of respect to the Feegee chiefs, by folding their hands before their
face & bowing their bodies. Women in this Country enjoy equal Privi- 562
ledges of honour & respect with the men, for at our Observatory there were 175
two women who had homage paid to them by the Chiefs, & to one of them 602
Fattafaihe used to bow: I understood this woman to be his near relation,
she had her husband with her, who enjoyd none of these marks of honour.

'Eua

f. 86v. [13 JULY] . . . on the top of the hill is a circular place pil'd round 133
with coral stones & one or two large ones in the middle, this place they [349]
call'd Etchee[1] & said it was built as a mark of Powlohows sovereignty; [312]
there was an Excellent spring of fresh water close by it; we met in several
places in the chasms of the rocks very good water & which might be
conveyd down to where the Natives are, yet they do not appear to regard
good water, as they in their houses always gave us indifferent & often very
brackish water to drink. We were all delightd with the charming prospect
from this hill; the Sea on the SE side of the Island is but at a little distance
from it & the land rises in broken hills, rugg'd & cliffy, & is not capable of
much improvement, but the NW part of the Island has a fine assemblage
of hills & Valleys with extensive Meadows & patches of wood, with now
& then a plantation; Yet this kind of Country, which we praise so much,
does not answer so well the purposes of what the Natives cultivate as the
flat borders by the Sea Side, so that it is in a great measure Waste; but it
struck us strongly, as the best calculatd place for Cattle of all the Islands;
& we thought that to make the Landscape the most charming one
imaginable, woud be sheep & Cattle upon the Meadows & hills before us;
We rather hop'd than firmly believ'd, that the sheep which had been given [177]
to Marrawaggee & now put on shore here woud thrive, since the 2 Yews
were very poor & the Ram quite young, however as there are no dogs yet
in this Island & as the Natives do not much admire them, they stand a
chance of being unmolest'd & from that circumstance may thrive &
answer the purpose for which they are left.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 88v–89, 89v–90, with excisions*]

In regard to their numbers I know of no criterion by which to make even a 175
tolerable guess, the Natives followd us from one Island to another, there- 161
fore it is not possible to know the number of any one Island we visit'd; at 162

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[1] *esi.*

609

[1777]

the time that their entertainments were exhibit'd there might be not short 175
of 12,000 people, who built temporary huts or slept under the trees about 161
the tent; at the Ceremony at Moa[1] we suppose not less than 600 chiefs 162
were assembled, but from these bodies I see no good conclusion to be [609]
drawn of the number in either all, or any one of them. From the Nature of
the Country, requiring the labour & industry of the Natives for their [361]
support, it cannot be near so populous in proportion to their size as what [311]
the Society Islands are; the houses here are by no means thickly scatterd [139]
about & many parts in all the Islands are uncultivat'd, owing to the [133]
Sandiness & poverty of the Soil in low Islands, & in the high ones to their
elevatd & expos'd situation; besides the larger low Islands have extensive
lagoons & lakes as at Tonga & Anamooka, which considerably lessens the
surface, leaving therefore their population to be gatherd from the nature of
the Country. We will proceed to their Colour, form, & Natural dispositions.

The Friendly Islanders are of a lively brown Colour & a shade darker 142
than Omai. Although many of their principal women were fairer, their
colour resembles that of the Mallays we saw at the Cape of Good hope;
they are in general above the middle size, many very tall men & but a few
under sizd, they are firmly & compactly made about the joints, broad
shoulderd & Muscular, & perhaps few natives exceed them in that form,
which requires both strenght & agility; this is even to be observ'd in their
walking but abundantly shewn in their athletick exercises & dances: their [302]
hair I believe is universally black or a dark brown when young, but they [765]
have a method of colouring it which deceives one at first; it is not unusual
to see two diff^{t} colours on the same head, & perhaps one purple; a sort of [175]
chalky paste which they very often daub upon their heads turns the hair a
yellow sandy colour; they are still more various in their fashion of wearing
it, being cut short on some parts & others left long, yet as they seem to
admire fine long hair, we rather suppose that when it is even partially cut,
& we know it to be the case when all short, that it is in memory of some
deceas'd friend. There are but few who have beards, but shave very 142
dextrously with 2 shells, laying one under the hair & the sharp point of the 302
one above meeting that of the one below, cuts it close off. The Chiefs have 175
glossy smooth skins preservd so by frequent washing; & as fresh water is 565
scarce, they after bathing in salt water throw over them a few coco nut 515
shells of fresh, which takes the salt which otherwise adheres to the skin, & 312
which gives a disagreeable roughness to that of the common people, &
afterwards rub over their bodies Coco nut Oile perfectly sweet & free from
any disagreeable smell. There are nevertheless many cutanious marks 175
from disorders & from voluntary inflictions; more than half of them are 164
affect'd with the tetter or ringworm, which leaves behind a whitish mark; 765
boils & blotches are often met with, & inflam'd sore Eyes are frequent; few
are free from marks on the Cheek bone, which they make by quick repeating
strokes with the knuckles on the death of their friends or relations,
besides these there are many other disfiguring marks inflict'd on the same

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[1] Mu'a.

edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd 175
to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd to- 501
gether (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd)
by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff^{t} sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout.
The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat [412]
building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made [237]
of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these 595
people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are bind- 565
ing, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had
only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether
considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of
doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other
women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had 175
a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does 581
not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their 837
Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are [152]
free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions [609]
with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by [437]
fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by [565]
no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on [164]
their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the
women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

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[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast. [177]

[1777]

175
581 & many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced
837 that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps
152 from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

609

437 *Religion.* The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most
565 difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms,
164 as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a
121 very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we en-
175 deavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to
771 have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe
[775] they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every
[673] method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate,
175 that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her dis-
771 pleasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with
776 diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation
[793] of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we
[184] heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They
believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the
Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff^{t} Islands have different
religions.[1]

175 They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul:
775 they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of
772 a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the
[776] God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well
as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to
the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast^{g} place to be on this Globe,
shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place
they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance,
[565] upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the
Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird
call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up. . . .

000 TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 100v–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt^{n} Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

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[1] Different gods, rather.

[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu.

[3] Hikuleo.

161 taken at the end of 1966, are not yet published, but it was anticipated
that the number would reach 70,000. The last published figures are
from 1956 (Tupouniua 1958) at which time the total population was
[162] 56,838. Of this number 55,156 declared themselves to be Tongan, 277
European, 604 part European, and 801 others (mostly other Pacific
Islanders).

144 Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with
Fijian, with whom both today and traditionally, there is much social
intercourse. In many genealogies there are one or more Fijians, and
they are more highly admired than Samoans who are much closer to
644 Tongans in physical type. The late Queen Salote's half-brother is
582 the son of her father, Tupou II, and a Fijian woman. The social
609 system of Tonga, based on a hierarchical ranking of persons, creates
a category of people with no one of equal rank to marry. In the past
this was often remedied by marriage with Fijians creating a societal
division called Ha'a Fale-Fisi.

197 Tongans have their own language which seems to have been the
first to split from the proto-Polynesian language family. The Tongan
language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean and
195 broader similarities with Samoan and Fijian. Highly developed in
565 Tongan is a language of respect in which words correspond to the three
societal levels. Thus when speaking to the King different words are
used than when speaking to chiefs, and still different words when
speaking to commoners. Thus 'go' is *hā'ele* for the King, *me'a* for

644 special title, Tamaha. A Tamaha was often married to a Fijian, or an
554 individual of the societal division Ha'a Fale-Fisi, who although not
full Fijian were considered Fijian. A second way to prevent a sister's
644
554 children's children from outranking his own children's children, was
582 for a Tu'i to have his son marry his sister's child. Cross-cousin
609 marriage was not proscribed, prescribed, or preferred, but it was
644
554 practiced to prevent social repercussions that might result if a
582 Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line.
605

According to Tongan tradition, the first Tu'i Tonga of the
643 present dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua climbed
773 down from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman
173 of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The
child of this union was Ahoeitu. When Ahoeitu was old enough he went
to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial
half-brothers who became his *matāpule*, ceremonial attendants. Ahoeitu,
half-man and half-god, lived over a thousand years ago (about 950)
and from him the present King descends from a collateral line. The
succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended from Ahoeitu were born of the
643 daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tu'i Tonga were
173 assassinated and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent Tu'i
Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The first
Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the 24th Tu'i Tonga. The
Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given only temporal power while the Tu'i Tonga
retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.

597 855 protector" or "to protect to provide for" (S. Rabone 1845:182; *vide* S. Baker 1897:175).

597 553 114 3. Baker also has *gaohi* erroneously defined as "adopt" (1897:2), along with *ohi* properly defined as "adopt" (*ibid*., p. 2 and p. 15). In his 1845 work, Rabone does not have the term *gaohi* nor any variation on it, but he does have *ohi* as "to adopt" (1845:19). For *fakahingoa* see Baker (1897:50), Churchward (1959:44) and Rabone (1845:59).

597 855 4. Churchward has defined *pusiaki* as "to rear (a child or a young animal) away from its mother" and states that one should compare it to *ohi* (1959:424). In the orthography of the nineteenth century, Rabone has *bujiaki* defined as "a pet; anything petted" or "to pet; to feed by hand" (1845:34). Baker's work, based on Rabone, also has the same but adds "foster" as *"ke bujiaki"* (1897:28). Churchward also utilizes *pusiaki* in the context of "foster-child" and "foster-parents" (1959:656).

597 557 613 554 565 5. The concept *'eiki* was one of "noble birth" in aboriginal Tonga and the term *'eiki* is not immediately synonymous with the term "chief." A title was given to an individual because of some special aspect of the individual and there were titled *'eiki* as well as titled non-*'eiki*; to finish out the simple 2x2 analysis, there were also non-titled *'eiki* and non-titled non-*'eiki* individuals (the last category being the bulk of the Tongan populace in the past and in the twentieth century). For further particulars see Urbanowicz (1973 and 1973/74).

597 114 [797] 6. The only way a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal (or early contacted) culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining to that culture and then make comparisons both internally and externally, comparing documented statements to documented statements and then comparing the "old" information with "new" information gathered by contemporary field work (see Urbanowicz [1972] for a detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research). The manuscript accounts of the missionaries can be suggestive, without providing any real information, as when the Wesleyan missionary James Watkin (in the archipelago from 1831 to 1837) wrote "this people much in the habit of adopting children" (*Journal* entry of April 9, 1834). However, the missionary statements are useful when they can be compared internally and with external, and known, reputable information. Thomas' following statements can be checked: he wrote of a Tongan girl in 1834 that she was "the reputed daughter of Ulakai" (*Journal* entry of March 9, 1834) when she died in 1841 he wrote that "she was the adopted daughter of the late chief Ulakai and the real daughter of the Tui Tonga" (*Journal* entry of July 13, 1841). In Australia, I examined the genealogical information in the E.E.V. Collocott Manuscript collection pertaining to Tonga and compared those genealogies to information recorded in Tonga – particularly the *Koe Tohi Hohoko Eni 'A Kingi Siaosi Tupou II* held by the Tongan Traditions Committee. The name of the girl proved to be Fatafehi and she was a child of the *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga by his third wife Siulolovao.

557 553 597 609 7. Fatu, whose full name was Fatukimotulalo, was an important and powerful non-titled *'eiki*. He was the son of Mulikiha'amea and that individual's fifth wife, Ikatonga. Fatu is well reported in the literature: one European, non-missionary, who was living in Tonga wrote how he was "patronized by a chief called Fatou, who has adopted me as his son, married me to his daughter, and given me a house to live in and land to cultivate" (J. Read in Orlebar 1833:69); another European observor wrote that Read had become the "adopted son of the most powerful Pagan chief in the island" (Orlebar 1833:48). Dumont D'Urville remarked that "Palou or Fatou and Tahofa [also called Fae] were without doubt the two most powerful chiefs of Tonga, although inferior to many others by birth" (MS, pp. 7-8). Fatu died on January 10, 1842 (J. Thomas

written on the incorporation of Europeans (both male and female) into Tongan society, such as Read, or Vason, who wrote how he was regarded by Mulikiha'amea

"with parental affection" (1810:111), or Mariner, who reported that Finau 557
Ulukalala was considered to be his own "father and protector" (1817:1: p.90 and p. 553
310). A later paper is planned. 597

8. Adoptions and arranged marriages for political reasons had always existed in the 609
indigenous system and with the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries this did not
change. The missionaries knew about the arranged marriages but they could not do 597
anything to stop them (or would not do anything to stop them) for they were too 581
much a part of Tongan life. One missionary, on a visit in 1850 (he had also been in 797
the archipelago from 1822-1823) wrote that such "state unions" were made
"merely to promote caste" and that this was a "thing which ought to be destroyed"
(W. Lawry *Journal* entry of June 15, 1850), but it was not.
9. Additional research might reveal further forms of aboriginal adoption transactions. 597
Collocott refers to Tungimana'ia as being "fakatakatuu" to a particular *Tu'i* 559
Ha'ateiho (Collocott n.d. p. 258) or *fakatakaua* which is "like or pertaining to a 428
constant companion" (Churchward 1959:102). The record suggests that this may
have been a "more intense" form of *ohi* since a son of an adopted son succeeded to
a title – that is, the title did not revert as in an *ohi* transaction (compare Gifford
[1929:137]). Companionship, group membership, or group enlargement, are all
subject to further research and debate in the context of adoption and the *ha'a*.
10. Unfortunately, this important distinction of pre-1875 Tonga and post-1875 is often 642
overlooked in the literature (see, for example, Kaeppler 1971). For specific 571
statements on changes in rank and status acquisition procedures due to the 559
Constitution of 1875 see Urbanowicz (1973/74). 178
11. The Constitution also resulted in other problems concerning titles: prior to the Constitution no man could hold more than one title, since the title holder was responsible to (and for) a particular group of people; now, as a result of the Constitution, there are men holding two titles. Most notable of these is the Honorable *Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili*. (The double title of *Ulukalala-Ata* is currently vacant). What the holding of double titles means is that a further gulf has been injected into the relationship between titled and non-titled individuals. A person with two titles has to divide his time (and obligations) between two different groups of people. This would not have been so prior to 1875.

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In aboriginal times, and this would be true for early-contacted Tonga as well as contemporary Tonga, informal *kava* sessions took place not only for general discussions, but also took place at various points in the life cycle. *Kava* ceremonies played an important part in celebrating births, weddings, and funerals. Aoyagi (1966:167-172) and Newell (1947:404) point this out for the twentieth century and as one nineteenth century non-missionary observer noted:

276 574 764 [851] [585]

> Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's: heard there of the death of the chief Luaka: went to see the funeral ceremony. The cava rings were formed (Bays 1831:121).

His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake has pointed out that *kava* drinking provides "a seal on all occasions" whether they be formal gatherings or informal gatherings (1955:48). When a person of importance visited somewhere, a *kava* session was held to honor the individual. When the above mentioned Dumont D'Urville landed at Tongatapu in 1827 he reported:

276 574

276 574 609

> Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, a native came to present me with a great ceremony a green branch of kava (piper methysticum). Singleton [a European residing in the islands since 1806], whom I questioned about the reason for this gift, informed me that this branch had been sent to me by the old queen Tuoi-Tonga-Fafine, and that in doing so she did me a great honour. The branch put the ship under the protection of the gods of the country and would guarantee it against any misfortune. Consequently I received the sacred branch with respect and I had it planted in a spot within view of the ship, which seemed to please the natives who witnessed the ceremony (MS 1a).

The presentation of the root was a prelude to an elaborate *kava* ceremony which the French navigator subsequently took part in and which served as a "seal of approval" for his visit.[4]

In addition to *kava* ceremonies being important in the particular life cycle of the individual, *kava* ceremonies also play an important role in the organization of Tongan society in general. *Kava* ceremonies took place when individuals received their titles in Tongan society or when they were stripped from their title for some reason. When an individual is installed into a chiefly position, the essence of the installation, as Collocott has accurately pointed out, "is the calling into his place into the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup by his new title" (1927:38).

276 574 554 [558]

In 1938, for example, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV (then the Crown Prince) took part in an elaborate *pongipongi* ceremony when he received the title of Tupouto'a:

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> The Kava ceremony occupied two hours and was presided over by Queen Salote [Tupou III]. The [Crown] Prince was officially recognized as Tubouto'a and his position in respect of the *Kava* rings was confirmed when he drank a bowl of *kava* in his new name. . . . The *Kava* ring was composed of 150 Chiefs and Matabules (Masters of

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted.
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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the 121
Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a
Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was 186
conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 524
1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major
libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the [101]
"Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, [127]
and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid 273
essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973 114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527]
roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands [656]
from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan]
Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land 574
distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113
course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE 609
TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN
THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion: and the principal
things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
[or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the 276
Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed
Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress 684
at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumata kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
part on *H.M.Y. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and 276
Sahlins 1958 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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[423 cont.]

175 running along the shore. The hills which were low, and not so high
175 above the level of the sea as the Isle of Wight, were agreeably
133 adorned with small clumps of trees scattered at some distance, and
137 the intermediate ground appeared covered with herbage, like many
175 parts of England. It was not long before we perceived some of the
609 inhabitants busied in launching several canoes, and paddling
175 towards us. We threw a rope into one of these canoes which ran up
609 close to us, and one of the three people in her came on board, and
431
201 presented a root of the intoxicating pepper-tree of the South Sea
Islands, touched our noses with his like the New Zeelanders, in
sign of friendship, and then sat down on the deck without speaking
a word. The captain presented him with a nail, upon which he
immediately held it over his own head, and pronounced fagafetai,
175 which was probably an expression of thanksgiving. He was naked
291 to the waist, but from thence to the knees he had a piece of cloth
wrapped about him, which seemed to be manufactured much like that of
Taheitee, but was covered with a brown colour, and a strong glue,
175 which made it stiff and fit to resist the wet. His stature was
142 middle-sized, and his lineaments were mild and tolerably regular.
175 His colour was much like that [424] of the common Taheitians (9),
that is, of a clear mahogany or chesnut brown; his beard was cut
short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short frizzled curls,
burnt as it were at the tips.

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9. As I shall frequently mention the inhabitants of Taheitee, and of the Society Islands, in comparison with other islanders, it will be proper to observe, that since the natives both of Taheitee and of the Society Islands, are perfectly alike in most respects, I shall indifferently call a custom Taheitian, or usual at the Society Islands, which is common to them both. Therefore, unless I expresly put these terms in contradistinction to each other, I wish to have them understood in general as synonymous.

[424 cont.]

000 burnt as it were at the tips. He had three circular spots on each
175 304 arm, about the size of a crown piece, consisting of several concentric
[171] circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the
Taheitians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black
[301] punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes
in the lap of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger.
175 He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others,
609 201 who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative
124 turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses,
175 spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time. In
the mean while we arrived at the N.W. point of the island, where we
struck soundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our
175 anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by
439 a number of canoes, each containing three or four [425] people,
175 who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes
501 were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked
[171] or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of
poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of
these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together
with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had
[171] received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades,
something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of
175 better wood. They made a great deal of noise about us, every one
439 shewing what he had to sell, and calling to some one of us, who
175 happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing,
[609] and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were
[565] bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least
[431]
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[425 cont.]

175 609 hesitation, and one of these seemed to be a chief, or a man of some
565 [431] quality, and was accordingly treated with a number of presents,
[201] which he severally laid on his head, when he received them, saying
fagafetai every time. Our English cloth and linen he admired most,
and iron wares in the next degree. His behaviour was very free and
unconcerned; for he went down into the cabin, and whereever^ we
175 thought fit to conduct him. He likewise told us, upon our enquiry,
101 that the island near which we lay at anchor, (the same which
124 Tasman called Middleburg) was called Ea-Oowhe among his country-men;
and that the [426] other to the north (or Tasman's Amsterdam island)
bore the name of Tonga-Tabboo. We consulted several of the natives,
in order to have greater certainty on this point, and always
received the same names in answer.

175 After breakfast, the captains went on shore with us and the
123 chief, who had continued on board all that time. A bed of coral
175 123 rocks surrounded the coast, towards the landing-place; but many
609 canoes occupied the deep channels between these rocks, and a great
[133] number of inhabitants in them as well as on the shore, shouted for
[439] joy at our approach. The canoes immediately came along side the boat,
[431] and the natives threw great bales of cloth into it, without asking
for any thing in return; while many of both sexes swam about perfectly
naked, holding up some trifles, such as rings of tortoise-shell,
fish-hooks of mother of pearl, and the like, for sale. As soon as
we could make way through the throng of canoes, we approached as
near as possible to the shore, and were carried to it out of our boat,
175 for which the natives very readily offered their backs. The people
609 thronged about us with every expression of friendship, and offered

431 ^ [Sic--Analyst.]

[426 cont.]

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[431] a few fruits, with a variety of arms and utensils. The cordial reception which we met with, was such as might have been expected from a people well acquainted with our good intentions, and accustomed to the transitory visits of European ships. But these kind [648] islanders had never seen Europeans among them, and could only have heard [427] of Tasman who visited the adjacent Amsterdam island, by imperfect tradition. Nothing was therefore more conspicuous in their whole behaviour than an open, generous disposition, free from any mean distrust. This was confirmed by the appearance of a great number of women in the croud, covered from the waist downwards, whose 114 looks and smiles welcomed us to the shore. Mr. Hodges designed this memorable interview in an elegant picture, which has been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The same candour with which I have made it a rule to commend the performances of this ingenious artist, whenever they are characteristic of the objects which he meant to represent, obliges me to mention, that this piece, in which the execution of Mr. Sherwin cannot be too much admired, does not convey any adequate idea of the natives of Ea-oowhe or of Tonga-Tabbo. The plates which ornamented the history of captain Cook's former voyage, have been justly criticised, because they exhibited to our eyes the pleasing forms of antique figures and draperies, instead of those Indians of which we wished to form some idea. But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr. Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from NATURE in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas. The connoisseur will find Greek contours and features in this picture, which have never existed in the South Sea

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will [A]admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight
by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though
all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

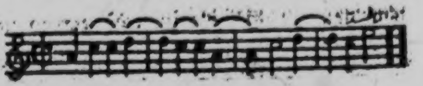
175 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who
123 invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
175
311 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into
a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a
very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green,
which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in
England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most
elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner
of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright,
and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of
a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and
covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

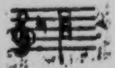
175 [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a
533 considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two
[609]
[123] or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceed-
[171] ingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical
when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by
snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

[A] [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account--Analyst.]

[429 cont.]

175 533 fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they sung in parts. When they had done they were relieved by others, who sung they[a] same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus. A very ingenious gentleman, who was on this voyage with us, has favoured me with one of the tunes which he heard in this island, which may serve as a specimen to the musical part of my readers.



In this little specimen the music is in the minor key, (a flat third.) They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; singing them rather slow, and sometimes ending with the chord 

175 609 The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture, and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the 175 137 liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was a considerable [430] time before we discovered from whence it proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back of the house, we perceived they were of tho lemon tribe, and covered with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant 175 609 262 smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and pomplemoses at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as large as a child's head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

175 417 351 On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure

[a] [sic!···Analyst]

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
417 of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
175 123 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
175 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
351 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
137 [417] and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a
bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect
now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of
tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few
bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a
dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety
[126] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed
through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which
175 we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed
123 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of
609 [181] Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we
[171] went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to
accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets
open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a
175 value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed
351 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated
361 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors
before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house,
175 of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate
181 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than
[171] we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171 [181] But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[433] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[23] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[262] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[291] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[351] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] [237] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and

[437 cont.]

175 and pointed; some had long handles and a blade which resembled the
411 blade of a fleam; others were crooked, knobbed, &c. But by far
175 the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns,
411
531 which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible
[412] patience, especially when we consider, that a sharp stone, or a
piece of coral, are the only tools which the natives [438] can
employ in this kind of work. All the different compartments
were wrought and divided with a regularity which quite surprised
us, and the whole surface of the plain clubs was as highly polished,
as if our best workmen had made them with the best instruments.
175 Besides clubs, they had spears of the same wood, which were sometimes
411 plain, sharp-pointed sticks, and sometimes barbed with a sting-ray's
[237] tail. They had likewise bows and arrows, of a peculiar construction.
The bow which was six feet long, was about the thickness of a little
finger, and when slack, formed a slight curve. Its convex part was
channelled with a single deep groove, in which the bow string was
lodged, and which was likewise big enough sometimes to contain the
arrow made of reed, near six feet long, and pointed with hard wood.
When the bow was to be bent, instead of drawing it so as to increase
the natural curvature, they drew it the contrary way, made it
perfectly strait, and then formed the curve on the other side. The
bow-string by this means never needed to be tense, as the arrow
received sufficient moment by changing the natural bent of the bow;
the recoil of which was never violent enough to hurt the arm. Our
seamen, unacquainted with the nature of these weapons, broke several
175 of them by drawing them like other bows. The immense quantity of
181
609 arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific
439

[438 cont.]

175 181 disposition, which had strongly [439] shone through their whole
609 behavior towards us, and which still manifested itself in their
439 readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have sometimes
175 124 quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring
islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their
conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on
175 this subject. The several articles above enumerated, together with
439 all their sorts of cloth, their elegant mats, which for workmanship
171 and variety excelled even those of Taheitee, and a great many other
trifles too tedious to mention, they brought to sell, and with great
eagerness exchanged for small nails, and sometimes for beads. But
in respect of the latter their taste was different from that of the
Taheitians; for the latter always chose those that were transparent,
but the people of Ea-oowhe would take no other than black opaque
175 beads, with red, blue, and white stripes. We traded with them till
439 dinner-time, and then re-embarked in order to return on board the
[648] ships; but were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of a
grapnel, which the natives had contrived to steal almost as soon as
it was let down into the water. Their kind looks and acclamations
followed us till we returned on board, where a number of them traded
in their canoes with the same sorts of goods which we had purchased
175 on shore. We saw several persons among them afflicted with leprous
164 complaints, in some of which the disorder had risen to a [440]
high degree of virulence; one man in particular had his whole back
and shoulders covered with a large cancerous ulcer, which was
perfectly livid within, and of a bright yellow all round the edges.
A woman was likewise unfortunate enough to have all her face destroyed

[442 cont.]

175 the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts
764 [487] upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance
[417] of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several
[137] casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves,
were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to
accompany us, would not approach this mount, but we advanced and
looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the
bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found
a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but
175 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (toa),
764 here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the
137 171 dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches,
where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down,
certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the
175 funereal cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of
764 ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade
181 the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar
175 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of
764 small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any
175 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and
311 still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses
361 in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of
175 609 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco
175 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found
123 our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately.
[609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed unconcernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

[443 cont.]

175 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
123
609 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175
124 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
197 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
Mahine (or O-Hedeedee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[445]

175 As soon as the captains had delivered their present, they
[565] returned to the ships, and the chief came on board with us. Our
anchor was weighed, our sails were spread to the wind, and we forsook this happy island when we had scarce discovered its beauties.
[439] The chief, after selling a number of fish-hooks for nails and beads,
[565] hailed one of the canoes which were passing by, and left us with looks
[609] which spoke his friendly, open disposition.

[101] We now sailed along the western shore of Tasman's Amsterdam
[133] island, which the natives called Tonga-Tabboo, and found it a very
[131] low flat land, compared with that which we had left. The middle of
this island is nearly in 21° 11′ S. latitude, and 175° W. longitude.
[133] Its highest elevation above the level of the sea, appeared to the
[311] eye never to exceed six or seven yards perpendicular. On the
[184] other hand, its extent was much more considerable than that of Eaoowhe, and by the help of our spying-glasses, we discovered the same regular plantations which we had so much admired there, and saw the shores crouded with inhabitants, who gazed at us, probably with as much attention as we bestowed upon them. When we were about half way between both islands, or nearly three leagues from each, we were met by several canoes full of men, who attempted to come along-side, but as we happened to be too far to windward, they could only fetch the Adventure, where they came on board.

175 [446] In the afternoon we approached the northernmost end of
133 the island, and perceived some small isles connected by reefs to the eastward. Their situation and that of the shoal to the north-west, where the sea broke with great violence, convinced us that we were now arrived at the very place where Tasman anchored in 1643,

[446 cont.]

175 133 and which he called Van Diemen's Road. Here we dropped an anchor
upon a rocky bank, and were immediately surrounded with numbers of
the natives, some in canoes, and some swimming, though we lay
175 439 about a quarter of a mile from the shore. We found them to be of
the same nation which inhabited Ea-oowhe, and their mercantile turn
prompted them to bring an immense quantity of their cloth, mats, nets,
utensils, arms, and ornaments, which they eagerly exchanged for
beads and nails. The ships were no sooner moored, than a prohibition
was made against purchasing curiosities, and the natives were told
to bring coco-nuts, bread-fruit, yams, and bananas, as well as hogs
and fowls, of which we had already learnt the names. We purchased
a small quantity of provisions the same evening, to give an example
to the rest of the inhabitants, who were obliged to take their merchandize
on shore again. The good effects of this step appeared
the next morning, when the natives returned from shore at day-break,
175 609 and had loaded their canoes with vegetables and fowls. Many of
them came on board as freely as if we had been old acquaintances,
175 565 and did not [447] appear to have the least idea of distrust. One
of them, a well made man, with a handsome open countenance, seemed
to have some authority among them, like the chief whom we had seen
[431] on Ea-oowhe. He descended into the cabin, acquainted us that his
name was Attahha, and received several presents, among which he
sat a high value on iron, and on red European broad cloth. After
175 133 breakfast he went on shore with us in the pinnace. A coral reef
surrounded the coast, at the distance of a musket-shot, and a
single narrow pass admitted us within it, where we found the water
so full of rocks and so shallow, that we were obliged to be carried
out of the boat.

[447 cont.]

000
175 out of the boat. A party of the marines were posted on the beach
648 in case of danger, to protect the captain's clerk, who traded for
[439] provisions. The natives did not express either surprize or dislike
at this proceeding, perhaps because they were unacquainted with its
175 meaning. They received us with acclamations of joy as at Ea-oowhe,
609 and desired us to sit down with them on the rocks along shore, which
133 consisted of coral, and were covered with shell sand. We purchased
175
439 several beautiful parroquets, pigeons, and doves, which they brought
231 to us perfectly tame; and our young Borabora-man Mahine (or Hedeedee)
237 traded with great eagerness for ornaments made of bright red
feathers, which he assured us had an extraordinary value at Taheitee
175 and the Society Islands. Here they were commonly pasted to aprons
292 used in their dances, and made of the fibres of [448] coco-nut,
237
824 or fixed upon banana leaves, forming rhomboidal frontlets or diadems, &c.
000 With a degree of extasy which gave the greatest weight to his assertion,
he shewed us that a little piece of feathered-work, as broad as two
or three fingers, would purchase the largest hog in his island.
114 Both this youth and O-Mai were much pleased with the inhabitants of
175 these islands, and began to understand their language tolerably well.

175 We left the beach after the first acquaintance with the natives,
311 and ascended a few feet into a wild forest consisting of tall trees,
[137] intermixed with shrubberies. This wood though narrow, being in
many places not above one hundred yards wide, was continued along
the shore of Van Diemen's road, being more or less open in various
parts. Beyond it the whole island was perfectly level. We walked
across a piece of uncultivated land, about five hundred yards wide,
which adjoined to the wood. Part of it appeared to have been planted

175 [448 cont.]
Part of it appeared to have been planted
311 with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
[244] in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of poule sultane,
[133] resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
[136] a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
[487] enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
[417] the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
[609] [201] provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or
175 [449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian tayo. The
351 enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
184 as at Ea-oowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous
175 shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
137 manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object
175 pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
311 which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
181 advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose, that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

175 One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
137 which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
[136] far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[452 cont.]
175
764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described,
114 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted
126 in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with
175
123 very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading-
175 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations
123 without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust
609 and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the
contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently
175 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses
351
184 and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully
[352] situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated
[123]
[417] from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like
those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside.
In that case only the area, which this fence enclosed around the
hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in
175 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to
133 the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which
Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped
imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the
north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places
it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely
of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe,
as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left
bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent
revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not
venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[455 cont.]
175 We likewise
534 found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten
[283] slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some
fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied
much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a
notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was
only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips.
It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never
[171] met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the
syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much
175 more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing
533 it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art
[184] is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part,
which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very
far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by
snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of
175 four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had like-
534 wise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German
171 flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians.
175 They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt
531 in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute
322 [534] had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning
[171] figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various
[415] other utensils.

175 It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection,
609 and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives
[831] swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable
[171] number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[457 cont.]

175 609 and were easily persuaded to come on board, perfectly naked,
171 without professing greater chastity than the common women at
831 Taheitee, and the Society Isles. Our seamen took advantage of
175 609 their disposition, and once more offered to our eyes a scene worthy
836 of the Cyprian temples. A shirt, a small piece of cloth, nay a few
beads, were sometimes sufficient temptations, for which some of
the women of Tonga-Tabboo, prostituted themselves without any sense
175 of shame. This lubricity was, however, very far from being general,
836 and we had reason to believe that not a single married woman was
[837] guilty of infidelity. If we had been acquainted with the distinction
of ranks as at Taheitee, it is highly probable, that we should have
observed no other prostitutes than such as belonged to the lowest
class of people. Still it remains an unaccountable singularity in
the character of the nations of this part of our globe, that they
suffer any of their unmarried women to admit the promiscuous embraces
000 of a multitude of lovers. Can they imagine, that after giving such
an unlimited course to the impulses of nature, they will make better
wives, than the innocent and the chaste? But it is in vain that we
endeavour to find reasons for the arbitrary whims of mankind. Their
opinions in respect of the sex in particular, have been infinitely
various in all ages and countries. [458] In some parts of India,
no man of consequence will condescend to marry a virgin; in Europe
she who has lost that character is universally rejected. Turks, Arabs,
Tartars, and Russians are jealous even of an imaginary characteristic
of virginity, which the native of Malabar bestows upon his Idol.

175 None of these women ventured to stay on board after sun-set,
609 but returned to the shore to pass the night, like the greater part

[458 cont.]

175 of the inhabitants, under the shade of the wild wood which lined the
[609] coast. There they lighted numerous fires, and were heard conversing
175 during the greatest part of the night. It seems their eagerness
439 to continue the trade with us, would not permit them to return to
their dwellings, which were probably situated in the remotest part
of the island. Our goods were in great repute with them. Nails,
which the natives commonly hung on a string round the neck, or
stuck through the ear, were very current for fowls, and smaller ones
175 for bunches of bananas, and coco-nuts. Their fowls were the largest
231 we had ever seen, and extremely well-tasted. Their plumage was
commonly very glossy, and beautifully coloured with red and gold.
175 Our sailors bought numbers of them, in order to enjoy the barbarous
439 amusement of seeing them fight. From the time of our leaving Huahine,
000 they had daily followed the cruel occupation of tormenting these poor
birds, by trimming their wings, and incensing them against each other.
They [459] had so well succeeded with those of Huahine, that some of
them fought with the most desperate fury of true gamecocks; but
they were well disappointed with those which they purchased at Tonga-Tabboo, and as they could not make them fight, they were forced to
eat them in revenge.

175 Early the next morning,[A] the captain's friend Attahha or Attagha
565 (see p. 447.)[B] came on board in one of the first canoes, and breakfasted with
[291] us. He was drest in mats, one of which, on account of the coolness of
175 the morning, he had drawn over his shoulders. He resembled all other
565 uncivilized people in the circumstance that his attention could not be
114 fixed to one object for any space of time, and it was difficult to pre-
[126] vail on him to sit still, whilst Mr. Hodges drew his portrait. An

[A] [5 October--Analyst.] [B] [i.e. p. 37-8 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion,
are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives
of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening,
having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island.
At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252 354 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
175 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
609 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
171 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
252 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
175 our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
431 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
439 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
201 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.[A] Our goods tempted them at least as much

A [6 October--Analyst.]

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)
Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
175 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
197 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
171 the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,
[565] which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the
northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great
correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen
have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo,
and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return
any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman
sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head,
and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water(21), which was
415

565 19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced
197 Aree.

20, See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

[467 cont.]

175
565 21. Called *awa* at Taheitee, and *kawa* at Tonga-Tabboo,
276 and Horne Island,

415 [468] served in little square cups made of banana-leaves curiously folded,
175 At his desire, we were very politely presented with this dainty
276 beverage, and in pure civility tasted of it. It had a nauseous insipid
[565]
[609] taste, which was afterwards followed by a strong pungency,
175 and its colour was somewhat milky. The holy man took such large and
565 frequent draughts of this stuff every evening, as to become perfectly
[276] intoxicated. No wonder then that his memory failed him, when he
[142] was at prayer (see p. 454)[A] that his whole habit of body was lean
and scabby, his face wrinkled, and his eyes red, and "purging thick
amber (22)." He had great authority among all the people, and a
number of servants attended to supply him with replenished cups.
[431] The presents which he received from us, he retained in his own
custody, whereas Attagha and several other chiefs, gave up to
their superiors whatever the captains had presented to them. The
priest had a daughter, who received many presents from our people.
[142] She was extremely well featured, and fairer than most of the women
of this country, who seemed to pay her some degree of deference. A
fairer complexion, and softer features than those of the common people,
are the natural effects of an easy inactive life, unexposed to the
blaze of a tropical sun, and pampered with a profusion of the best
000 productions of the country. Must we not conclude therefore that the
beginnings of luxury will be introduced even here under the cloak of
[469] religion, and that another nation will be added to the many
dupes of voluptuous priest-craft? So small a spark as the cunning

22. Shakespeare.

[A] [See pp. 43-44 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

[469 cont.]

000 of a single man may in time kindle a dreadful and irresistible fire!
175 565 The obedience and submission with which these people revere their chiefs, are evident proofs that their government, though perhaps not perfectly despotic, is yet far from being democratical; and this kind of political constitution seems likely to facilitate the
[171] introduction of luxury. This seems to hold good likewise in regard to many islands in the western part of the Pacific Ocean, since the faithful descriptions of Schouten, Le Maire, and Tasman, who visited them, correspond in every material particular with our own observations.
175 609 101 The general disposition for trading, and the kind and friendly reception which strangers have almost constantly met with in every island belonging to this group, prevailed upon us to give these discoveries of Schouten and Tasman the name of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS.
000 Schouten's boats were indeed attacked at Cocos, Traitors, Hope, and Horne Islands; but these attacks were inconsiderable, though severely punished on the part of the Dutch navigator, who, after the first disturbance at Horne Island, lay there nine days in perfect good understanding with the natives.
175 648 609 Tasman, who twenty-seven years afterwards saw several islands near six degrees to the southward of those which Schouten had visited, was received with every demonstration of peace and friendship, [470] though he was the first European that discovered them. Whether this behaviour was only a consequence of the intelligence which the natives of Tonga-Tabboo and Anamocka, (Ansterdam[a] and Rotterdam Islands,) might have received from these of Cocos, Hope, and Horne Islands, concerning the superior strength of the strangers and the havock which they had made; or whether it was the natural effect of their peaceable disposition, I cannot

[a] [sic!—Analyst]

175 [470 cont.]
648 venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion.
609 000 Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which
he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives
no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single
musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-eastermost isles
belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general
character. He called his discovery the Archipel des Navigateurs,
175 justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's
648 time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of
175 Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a
178 space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not
materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition,
175 &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining
439 positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory
[124] of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have
[412] been brought to the island in Tasman's time. [471] We purchased
one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with
rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden
handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is
[415] now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small
earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and
suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards
we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives them-
175 selves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree
171 with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed
[648] petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their
[304] [565] custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's

[471 cont.]

175 171 and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island
304 were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The
565 000 experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respect-
ful even to servility towards the Dutch: their king prostrated himself
before a Dutch purser and their chiefs placed their necks under his
175 181 foot (28). These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon
meanness and cowardice; but we never had reason to suppose them
175 tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly
181 accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of
609 intentions [472] inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming.
Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions
to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of
175 vicious individuals. Dr. Sparrman and myself having left the beach
123 where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered
the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science.
[124] The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three
natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far
as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after,
Dr. Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet,
175 which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives,
123 finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-
648 piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion,
and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become accomplices
in this attack. In the struggle our feet were entangled in a bush,
and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain
his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr. Sparrman, got up

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28. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

√

[478 cont.]

175 122 for water, and the master had been sent to the eastward to survey
312 Maria Bay, and the low isles which shelter that harbour. The situation
175 of these islands he found very exactly represented in the charts
136 of the ever accurate Tasman, and on one of them where he landed, he saw an astonishing number of speckled water-snakes, with flat tails, which are harmless, and distinguished in the system of
175 Linnaeus, by the name of *colubri laticaudati*. In our branch we
126 had not been unsuccessful, this little island having afforded us
137 several new plants, among which was a new species of jesuit's bark, or *cinchona*, [479] of which the bitter bark may perhaps be equally
175 efficacious with that of Peru. We also collected several birds
231 [126] unknown before, and purchased some live species, particularly of
[439] the parrot and pigeon tribe, of the natives, who seem to be very
[136] expert fowlers. But it did not appear to us, that the pigeons,
[554] [171] which many carried perched on crooked sticks, were marks of distinction, though Schouten at Horne Island where the same custom
175 prevails, is of that opinion (25). In the last boat which
609 had brought our people on board in the evening, the Latoo or king had sent a great quantity of vegetables, together with a whole hog roasted, or dressed under ground, as a present to the captain. In the morning therefore, we embarked early in the pinnace, and rowed
[152] to the shore to make a present in return. We found the Latoo sitting at a little distance from the beach; and captain Cook gave him a shirt, a saw, a hatchet, a brass kettle, and several articles of less moment, all which he received with sullen gravity; this deportment he never varied, except once, when he was seen to smile as he conversed with Attagha.

565 431 25. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. II. p. 46.

[167 cont.]

000 and their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and
[171] go naked. Their island seems to be about three leagues long, and
[175] was called Savage Island. It is situated in 19° 1' S. and 169° 37' W.

Having reached the ship, the boats were hoisted in, and the next
morning we continued our course to the westward. A large high-finned
whale, which was seen near the ship, spouted up the water, and several
birds and fish attended us as usual.

122 On the twenty-fourth [June 24, 1774] at night we lay to, as
[177] we expected to be very near A Namoka, or Rotterdam Island, one of the
[175] Friendly Isles discovered by Tasman in 1643. Breakers [168] were
heard a head at two o'clock, and the land appeared at day-break.
122 We stood for it, and soon found it to consist of several low islands,
133 connected by a vast reef. Another great reef lay to the northward,
175 and we passed between them. At noon a canoe came off towards us,
609 though the nearest land was above a league distant. We discerned
175 two men in it, who stood on a long while, but at last, seeing that the
181 ship gained upon them, they put about and returned. We could not
175 help admiring the difference between this race, and the savages
whom we had so lately left, and agreed that the name Friendly was
122 very justly given to them. The wind slackened all the afternoon, and
died away to a perfect calm during night. We approached so near
one of the reefs by this means that we ran great risk of being wrecked;
but a breeze springing up in the morning, we were out of danger in a
short time.

The next morning [June 26] we sailed between reefs and small
133 islands, which made the water smooth. The islands had a little more
137 elevation than the common coral islands; they were covered with groves
175

[168 cont.]

133 and tufts of trees, which gave them a most enchanting appearance.
137 The houses were seen in great numbers among the trees on the beach,
175 and the islands had an air of happiness and affluence. One of these
361 181 little gardens rose at its east end into a white perpendicular cliff,
175 with something like horizontal strata. At our distance it looked
183 like the bastion of a ruined fort, and being fringed [169] with
137 175 woods and palms, formed altogether a romantic view. Towards noon
609 the wind slackened, and canoes put off from different islands to visit
175 us, though they were above a league distant. Some of them worked so
hard, that they were near us in less than an hour; and when they were
about to musket-shot off, they began to call to us from time to time,
still continuing to paddle towards us. Three persons were in the
canoe, exactly like the natives of Ea-oowhe and Tonga-Tabboo, whom
439 we had seen in October, 1773. When they were along side, a few beads
175 and nails were presented to them, for which they immediately sent a
[824] [609] bunch of bananas, and some delicious shaddocks (*citrus decumanus*) on
[592] the deck, besides a bunch of the red fruits of the palm-nut tree or
pandang (*athrodactylis*) which is a sign of friendship. This being
done, they sold us all the shaddocks and fruit which they had, and
609 came on board. In the mean while the other canoes arrived, and acted
175 without the least caution, as if we had been long acquainted. They
103 taught us the names of all the islands in the neighbourhood, that
175 with the high cliff they called Terrefetchea; the other, which we
admired so much for its beauty, Tonoomea: both these lay to the eastward of us: Mango-nooe (great) and Mango-eetee (little) were two
islands to the west of us; and to the S.W. beyond them lay Namoka-nooee and Namoka-eetee; the first of which Tasman has called Rotterdam

[171 cont.]

439 they continued to trade with us. They sold us coco-nuts, excellent
175 yams, bread fruit, bananas, shaddocks, and other fruit. They also
[685] brought purple water-hens alive, and a fine well-tasted sparus ready
dressed in leaves; also a curious stringy root baked, which contained
a very nourishing pulp, of such a sweetness, as if it had been boiled
in sugar. All these things were eagerly bought for nails, which were
184 esteemed according to their size, and for pieces of our cloth. Their
175 canoes, their persons, dress, customs and language so entirely
resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, that we could perceive no difference.
203 As this island is at a short distance from Namoka, it is not improbable
175 that the inhabitants of the latter might have heard of our arrival
there in October, 1773.

The next morning [June 27] captain Cook landed early in a sandy
193
175 cove, which is accurately described by Tasman. It is enclosed by
a reef, and has a narrow entrance for boats at the south end. It is
[439] so shallow, that our boats could only come in at high water. The
captain purchased a pig, and was conducted to a pond of fresh water
at a short distance from the beach, the same where Tasman had supplied
609 his ships with water. The hospitality of the natives was exercised
175 [172] in its utmost extent, and one of the handsomest ladies of the
[836] island complimented the captain with an offer, which was not accepted.
648 Having examined the watering place, he returned on board to breakfast,
175 and gave strict orders, that no persons infected with or lately cured
of venereal complaints should be suffered to go on shore, and that no
609 women should be admitted in the ship. A number of ladies came off in
175 several canoes, and seemed very desirous of making acquaintance with
our sailors; but after paddling about the ship for some time, they were

[172 cont.]

609 obliged to return to the shore, very much discontented. Immediately
175 after breakfast, Dr. Sparrman, my father and myself accompanied
439 175 captain Cook to the shore, where a trade commenced for shaddocks and
yams, which the natives sold us in prodigious quantities. Bananas
and coco-nuts were scarce in proportion, and bread-fruit still more
291 rare, though the trees of these sorts were very numerous. All the
175 men went nearly naked, a slight covering on the loins excepted; a few
of them, however, and most of the women, were drest from the waist to
the ankles, in a piece of stiff painted cloth made of bark, wrapped
several times round them, or in mats.

As soon as our boats reached the shore, the clamours of all those
439 175 who had something to sell became so excessively loud, that we hastened
137 into the country, whose aspect was very inviting. A considerable
241 variety of plants covered the [173] ground in wild luxuriance; and the
175 great number of plantations of all sorts, made the whole island resemble
487 a beautiful garden. The fences which had confined the view at Tonga-
175 Tabboo, were here much less frequent, and only enclosed one side of
[417] the path, leaving the other open to the eye. The ground was not
487 137 perfectly level in the interior parts, but rose in several little
241 hillocks lined with hedges and bushes, which formed a most agreeable
175 prospect. The path which we met with, sometimes went under long rows
of lofty trees, planted at considerable distances, between which the
ground was covered with the richest verdure; sometimes a thick and
impenetrable arbour of fragrant shubberies vaulted over it for a
considerable space, and hid it entirely from the sun; sometimes
342 plantations, and sometimes wilds appeared on both sides. The houses
175 of the natives were of a singular structure; their height was about

[173 cont.]

342 eight or nine feet; but the walls, which were not perpendicular,
175 but converged towards the bottom, were not above three or four feet
from the ground, and very neatly made of reeds. The roof converged
into a ridge at the top; so that the section of the house resembled a
pentagon. It was thatched, and the roof projected beyond the sloping
walls of the house. In one of the long sides there was always an
opening about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground,
which served instead of a door. The length of the house never exceeded
353 thirty feet, and the breadth was [174] commonly eight or nine. The
262 inside of these houses was always filled with large roots of yams,
175 which seem to be the chief support of the natives. To sleep upon
519 them must be extremely uncomfortable; and yet a few mats are only
175 spread over them at night, which custom has made acceptable to these
[352] people. Those narrow little stools, on which the Taheitians rest the
342 head, are extremely frequent here, and serve the same purpose. We also
175 observed several open sheds, on a few posts, like some which we had
seen at Tonga-Tabboo. These were laid out with mats, and seemed to be
● 609 intended for their abode in the day-time. In our ramble we passed by
175 a number of these habitations, but saw very few inhabitants, they being
mostly at the trading place. Those whom we met were always very civil,
and bowed their heads, saying, leleï (good), woä (friend), or some
such word, to mark their good temper and disposition. They were our
conductors; they brought us flowers from the highest trees, and birds
out of the water; they often pointed out the finest plants to us, and
taught us their names; we needed only to show them a plant of which we
wished to have specimens, and they would go to any distance to procure it.
[431] Coco-nuts and shaddocks they readily offered to us; and willingly carried

[174 cont.]

609 great loads for us; a nail, a bead, or even a small rag of cloth,
175 being considered as a valuable present in return. In a word, they
[431] were on all occasions ready to oblige us.

133 [175] In the course of our walk we found a large lake or lagoon
175 of salt-water, at the north end of the island, which at one place
reached within a few yards of the sea. It was about three miles long, and one wide. Three little islands full of trees, arranged in most picturesque manner, served to ornament this fine piece of water, of which the shores also captivated the eye by their variety and beauty. The inverted landscape on the water, rendered this scene still more beautiful, especially as our point of view was an eminence, where many tall trees and thick shrubberies screened us from the sun.

133 No island, which we had hitherto visited, had offered so great
137 variety of views to us in so small a space; nay, we had no where found
175 such abundance of beautiful flowers, so agreeably contrasting their
various tints, and mingling their sweet scents to perfume the air.
136 The lake was full of wild-ducks, and the woods and shores abounded with
439 pigeons, parroquets, rails, and small birds, which the natives brought
175 for sale.

439 At noon we returned to the trading place, where captain Cook had
175 purchased a great quantity of fruit and roots, a few fowls, and one or two
small pigs. When we arrived on board, we found they had been equally successful there in the purchase of provisions. The whole poop was loaded with shaddocks, which we found a most delicious fruit, of excellent flavour; and of yams we had laid in such a quantity, [176] that we eat of them every day for several weeks afterwards instead of biscuit. Arms and utensils, the usual articles of trade of these

[176 cont.]

439
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islanders, had likewise been plentifully sold, especially by several people who came in large double sailing canoes from the neighbouring islands. While we were at dinner, one of our shipmates was observed
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175
on shore, surrounded by a great croud of natives; but no further notice was taken of him, though he made signals for a boat. One of our trading boats, which was sent ashore as soon as the crew had dined, came near the place where he was stationed, and took him on board. It proved to be our surgeon, Mr. Patton, who had been in the most imminent danger of losing his life, by being carelessly left upon the island without support. From his account it is very plain, that even among these kind and well disposed people, there were some villains who greatly resembled the wretches that infest our civilized countries. He had left the landing place, and engaging a single native in his service for a few beads, had rambled over great part of the island. His success in shooting was considerable; the native carried eleven ducks, with which he returned to the sandy cove. The boats having already left that place, he was something disconcerted, and the croud pressed about him, conscious that he was in their power. He walked therefore to the rocky shore, just abreast of the ship, where our people saw him. In going thither, the man who carried [177] the ducks endeavoured to drop some of them; but Mr. Patton luckily turning about at that moment, he picked them up again. The croud now pressed close about him, and several of the men threatened him with jagged spears, whilst nothing but the appearance of his fowling-piece kept them in awe.
[831
126]
Several women were set on by the men, to draw him off his guard, by a thousand lascivious gestures and attitudes; but his situation was of too serious a nature to permit him to attend to them. After some time

[177 cont.]

609 175 a canoe arrived from the ship, and Mr. Patton agreed with the owner to carry him aboard for a nail, the last which he had left. Just as he was stepping into the canoe, they snatched his fowling-piece from him took all his ducks except three, and sent away the canoe. He was greatly astonished and alarmed, and resolved to return to the top of the rock, where he expected to be more easily distinguished from the ship, from whence he hoped for assistance. The natives now laid aside all reserve, and began to pluck at his cloaths. He readily suffered them to snatch his cravat and handkerchief; but they also seized his coat, and resumed their threatening gestures with such violence, that he expected every moment would be his last. His anxiety and agony cannot well be painted. He put his hands in all his pockets to search for some instrument, a knife or the like, with which to defend himself; he opened it, and held it out [178] upon the croud, who perceiving it hollow, instantly flew back to the distance of two or three yards he continued to point this formidable weapon against the enemy, whose spears were still lifted against him. The meridian sun shone burning hot upon him; he had walked the whole day, was spent with fatigue, and began to despair of saving his life, when a handsome young woman, remarkable for her flowing curls, which hung down on her bosom, took pity on his wretched condition. She stepped forward from the croud, with the greatest humanity and compassion expressed in her eye; innocence and goodness were so strongly marked in her countenance, that it was impossible to distrust her. She approached, and offered him a piece of shaddock, which was eagerly and thankfully accepted, and gradually supplied him with more, till he had consumed the whole fruit. At last the boats put off from the ship, at sight of which the whole croud dispersed; only his generous benefactress, and an old man, who was her

[178 cont.]

609 father remained sitting near Mr. Patton, with that unconcern which
175 a noble and virtuous conduct inspires. She enquired for the name of
her friend; he told her that which the Taheitians had given him, Pateenee;
and she immediately adopted it, changing it into Patseenee. On
stepping into the boat, he gave her father and her a few presents, which
he borrowed from the crew, and with these they returned to their groves
highly pleased. When Mr. Patton [179] came on board, he acquainted
captain Cook with the danger to which he had been exposed; but though
he had only followed the example of many of his shipmates, by reposing
confidence in the natives, yet the loss of his fowling-piece was considered as a proper punishment for his imprudence. The afternoon was
[126] spent in different rambles on shore. My father, with a single sailor,
walked over a considerable part of the island, without the least molestation
from the inhabitants, and brought on board a number of new plants.
[674] No other complaints arose against the natives this day, except some
petty thefts, at which they were expert like their brethren of Tonga-Tabboo and the Society Islands.

122 The next morning [June 28] early we discovered several islands to
the N.W. of us, which a haze in that quarter had hitherto screened from
193 our sight. The two westermost were high, one peaked, but the other
175 more extensive. A thick smoke arose from the last, on which, during
the night, we had observed a fire. The natives who came on board acquainted us that this fire was constant, so that we concluded it to
103 proceed from a volcano. They called this island Tofooa (5), and the
peak close to it e-Ghao (6). To the northward of these two we discerned

193 5. Tasman calls it Ama-Tofoa in his map. Ama or kama
175 probably signfies a mountain.

2 [179 cont.]

103 6. Tasman calls it Kaybay in his map.
183 thirteen low islands, each of which the natives named to us.
175 [180] We hastened ashore after breakfast, to resume our enquiries.
122 We soon left the beach, where the natives were again assembled in great
137 numbers of both sexes. A most beautiful kind of lily (*crinum asiaticum*)
126 was the first plant which we met with and several others, not less valuable,
175 were collected soon after. We came to the watering-place, which was a
312 pond about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards long, and fifty broad;
175 it contained stagnant water which was somewhat tainted with a brackish
taste, and might perhaps have subterraneous communications with the
salt lagoon, which in one place adjoined to it. Lieutenant Clerke, who
648 175 superintended the waters, told us that his musket had been nimbly snatched
137 away by one of the natives, who instantly ran off with it. We advanced
175 to the salt lagoon, and botanized, among the spacious man-groves which
[126] surrounded it. These trees occupy a vast space of ground, and grow more
and more intricate by age. Their seeds do not drop off, but shoot down
from the top of the tree, till they reach the ground, where they take root,
648 and spread new branches. Whilst we were here, we heard three great guns
175 fired; but the sound being broken by many intervening objects, we suspected
that they were only muskets overcharged as usual, by some young gentlemen
● 609 on a shooting party. We left the lake soon after, and passed through a
175 plantation, where the natives bowed to us very kindly, and invited us to
648 sit down amongst them. [181] We were desirous of making the most of our
721 time, and therefore soon left them, and returned to the fresh-water pond.
175 Having fired a musket at some wild-ducks, which were in great plenty, we
were called to by Mr. Gilbert, the master, who told us that a volley of
small arms, and three cannon had been fired to alarm and bring us back,

[190 cont.]

101 and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then
175 might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably
well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo
is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent
islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean.
161 We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we
175 suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed
182 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions,
164 keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy
175 prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all
517 their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the
53 South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass
175 away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and
discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one
181 of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is
609 active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite
173 [439] than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have substituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from
171 those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
175 [191] these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Taheitians,
[181] who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections
[577] to confine them to outward shew and specious appearances. However
there are many luxurious individuals (arreoys) at the Society Islands,
whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people
of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only
have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

122 The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon

[193 cont.]

122 announced to us that the island was inhabited.
175 The next morning [July 3] we bore down upon it again, and came
177 round its east end. It appeared to be about seven miles long, and
175 had two small hills of very gentle ascent, [194] wholly covered with
177 woods, like the rest of the island. One end sloped into a flat point,
193 on which we observed fine groves of coco-palms, and fruit-trees, together
with houses in their shade. A fine sandy beach surrounded the shore,
and at the distance of half a mile, a coral reef encompassed the east
side of the island, which at the points projected near two miles from
175 the shore. On this reef we soon perceived five blackish-brown men,
177 with clubs in their hands, looking at us very attentively. We hoisted a
● 609 boat out, and sent the master to sound an opening between the reefs
which we saw before us. He went on through the entrance towards the
shore, where we observed upwards of thirty inhabitants sitting. Amongst
them ten or twelve were armed with spears; but as soon as our boat
came near, they hauled a canoe into the woods, which had brought their
five men to and from the reef, and all ran off when the master landed.
[193] He laid some nails, a knife, and few medals on the sandy beach, and
returned on board, to acquaint the captain that there was no bottom in
175 the entrance of the reef, and not sufficient depth within it. He had
177 observed a dozen or more large turtles swimming in the harbour; but
136 being destitute of harpoons, or other instruments, could not strike any
122 of them. Our boat was hoisted in again, and the hopes of botanizing
175 on this island were entirely frustrated. We continued standing along
177 its reef, on which we observed some large single rocks of coral, near
[126] fifteen feet above the [195] surface of the water, narrow at the base,
[193] and spreading out at the top. Whether an earthquake had raised them so

428 inheritance from MB. This procedure is followed as an aspect of the
604 fahu relationship where ZS has the right to claim property of his MB as
his own. Such a custom of inheritance is followed in cases where a man
dies without sons, and so the second son of the deceased's eldest sister
can inherit, the first son inheriting from his father. These customs
[423] that are not in fact legal will probably continue as long as large
portions of land remain unregistered.

Stranger and Friend

609 Non-kinsmen are conceptualized and categorized according to ego's
familiarity with them. All foreigners to Tonga are muli. Tongan
strangers to one's village are sola or vūlangi: these terms are frequently
609 used in a derogatory manner. The use of these terms reflects
628 the animosity which exists between villages and is sometimes manifested
in fighting, particularly between boys and younger men. In many of
these incidents the fact that one person or a group is from another
village is enough to provoke a fight.

572 Terminologically, Tongans distinguish two broad categories of friends. Kaume'a are close friends and usually include only persons of the same sex and approximately the same age as ego. This term can be used to refer to friends of the opposite sex, but here implies a courting relationship. The term sō is usually used to refer to one's girlfriend or boyfriend. Kaume'a work and play together and freely share their material possessions. Kaume'a are very important to children and young unmarried persons of both sexes. Interaction with one's kautaha

431 In Table 16[A] I have presented a breakdown on the types of items in-
volved in the exchanges recorded. About 63 percent of the exchanges
involved some type of food, and garden products had the highest fre-
quency of involvement. This category includes vegetables and tree
[426] fruits including the coconut. Money was involved as either a gift or
[177] a loan in about 9 percent of the cases. The category "other" includes
a wide range of otherwise unclassifiable items such as fuels, soap and
bleach, and European foodstuffs other than meat and fish.

Some other sample characteristics are that 71 percent of the items
exchanged were domestically-produced goods, 20 percent were imported
goods, and 9 percent consist of cash. About 79 percent of the items
exchanged were consumable goods as opposed to 21 percent durable items.
[426] Durables are frequently loaned rather than given, but there is no termi-
nological distinction made between loaning and giving in the reciproc-
ity system.

In about 87 percent of the transactions the informants said there
was no explicit expectation of a return gift. This does not mean the
receiver is under no obligation. First, all adults are expected to par-
ticipate in the reciprocity system as both givers and receivers. Sec-
ond, individuals maintain a loose reckoning of the balance of exchange
between themselves and other persons. Between non-kinsmen there is an
● [609] expectation of balance in flow of goods between two persons. For indi-
[626] viduals this means that if he does not give as much as he receives, he
will probably become the subject of gossip, and lose some of his rights
[554] to solicit gifts. A person who gives more than he receives obligates

[A] [See p. 100--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

74: Urbanowicz OU9 Tonga OU9

177
● 609

[For information on early missionary activities in Tonga, see Category 797.]

423 and in 1852 he told a meeting of the leading chiefs that 'No
178 person has any title to lands in these Islands except by grant
643 from the Government' (Amos 1852). This claim was strengthened
and brought into conformity with traditional Tongan feeling in
1865 when the remaining powers of the Tui Tonga were conferred
423 on Tupou by the chiefs. The sale of land to foreigners
was forbidden in 1850, although leasing was permitted under
178 government control. By 1872, if not earlier, this prohibition was
432 extended to cover sales of land to Tongans.

[609] Other developments in land tenure resulted from a combination
423 of missionary influences (particularly from the Reverend
Shirley Baker, a Wesleyan missionary who later became Premier),
178 the King's own desire to elevate Tonga into the ranks of the
civilized nations, and the need for government revenue. The
651 1862 code, which freed the commoners from forced labour and
[177] compulsory contributions to their chiefs, also stated '. . . the
chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people as they may need,
which shall be their farm, and as long as the people pay their
tribute, and their rent to the chief, it shall not be lawful for
any chief to dispossess them . . .' (West 1865:434). Baker later
claimed credit for this provision, explaining that his aim had
been to ensure that those required to pay taxes had the means
to earn the necessary money (Rutherford 1966:54-5). This may
be the origin of the later principle that each taxpayer was entitled
to an allotment, although under the traditional system the
holding of land was probably also linked with the payment of
tribute.

423 The Constitution of 1875 elaborated and refined these principles,
178 and also provided for the granting of estates to the chiefs.
Since 1852 all land had legally belonged to the King, and unoccupied
643 land had come under the control of the Crown rather
565 than the chief of the district in which it lay. Between 1875
and 1882, however, Tupou appointed a number of chiefs and
[427] *matapule* as virtual landlords of the districts, in most cases those
they had traditionally controlled, and gave them the power to
lease land to their people and, with the approval of Cabinet,
to foreigners, with the rents being paid to the holder of the
178 estate. The Constitution appears to have been the work of Baker.
Rutherford (1966:155) suggests that 'The creation of a nobility
565 was probably a move by Baker to enlist the support of the more
641 powerful chiefs . . .', and there is little doubt that political
stability was improved by giving both the King's main supporters
and the more important of his opponents secure and comfortable
positions in the new order.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter 644
of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater [562]
respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha
(= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha
was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married
the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in
1852.(7)

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental 565
superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and 622
were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained
a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent 181
that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. 461
They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours
in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other 181
island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race.
Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves
from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.(8)

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) [177]
and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous
state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed 361
fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not
live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was
boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and
taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a 181
tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship
captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures [609]
suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in
the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with
genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety
and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears
of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had
recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.(9) 771
Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making
supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the 782
ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was 773
no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated 776
with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. 533
Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured [776]
lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was 771
believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by
marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely [643]
related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the [565]
many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both
religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was 565
held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life. 775

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1797]

white men's ships. The Tongans did not show the least interest in Christian 797
teaching and, under the circumstances, this was hardly surprising. 175

[177] It is easy now to find grave errors in this venture. To teach the Tahitians and Tongans trades and to endeavour to set up a model society along English lines was idealistic but impracticable. The uneven quality of the members of the mission party was a serious handicap. They had been selected mainly for their knowledge of trades, and some of these trades were inapplicable to the islands (for example, bricklayer, butcher, draper, hatter). Some of the men were not sufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to succumb to the temptations of a strange and enervating environment. Only six of the thirty missionaries on the *Duff* were married; twenty-two were under thirty years of age. Dr. Haweis had actually favoured using single men, with the hope, he said, that they might marry converts from the families of high chiefs in the interests of further conversions.(1) Of the thirty, twenty proved unfaithful or unequal to the work.(2) Five of the original party in Tahiti remained faithful and were rewarded with eventual success. It was this minority who finally justified the Society's enterprise in Tahiti. The record of most of the L.M.S. survivors in Tongatapu indicates that they also were loyal to their commission.

The *Duff* reached Tahiti, after its long voyage, on 5 March 1797, a Sunday; and on that day the Gospel was first preached in the South Seas by Evangelicals. Those who had come to work in Tahiti had brought a rough vocabulary compiled by one of the crew of the *Pandora* which had called there six years before. On the other hand, there was nothing whatever prepared for the ten men who elected to go to Tongatapu; they had to depend for interpreters upon several castaway whites who generally were hostile. If civil war had not occurred the missionaries might have learnt the Tongan language in the same way as their nondescript interpreters had done. Without knowing the language, without any reliable authority to support them, living among a thieving population and a few whites who became treacherous opponents, and with their own indifferent intellectual equipment, the L.M.S. had insuperable obstacles from the outset.

Before leaving Tahiti the ten missionaries designated for Tongatapu chose Seth Kelso as their leader. On 19 March Kelso was ordained by the four ministers in the party who themselves had been ordained before leaving England.

On 10 April 1797 the *Duff* anchored off the small island of Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. Two days later the men landed and met chiefs including Mumui, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who expressed his desire to be taught how to make the kind of furniture he had seen on the ship. The missionaries decided to fix their residence in Hihifo, the western district, under the patronage of Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui. On 17 April the first sermon in Tonga was preached by John Buchanan; and the party observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on 7 May.

Very soon after their arrival the missionaries witnessed the "paroxysms of
grief" which marked the funeral of Mumui who died on 27 April. Two of the 643
king's wives and a grandson had been strangled before his death. The funeral 764
ceremonies were attended by about 4,000 people. Hundreds of men used clubs 175
and spears to injure themselves. The missionaries were sickened by the daily 768
scenes of self-inflicted blood-shedding. [304]

Before the *Duff* left Tongatapu a runaway sailor more friendly than the 797
others on the island informed Captain Wilson of a plot to capture the ship. Eight 609
large double-canoes and hundreds of men surrounded the ship; they had to be 175

[1797 - 1822]

ordered away from the vessel which loaded its guns. Another danger was detected 797
the following night; in the darkness men were found attempting to cut the cable 609
so that the ship would drift ashore and be captured there. 175

The greatest hindrance to any possible success for the Mission came from 797
three men of vile character — Connelly, Morgan and Ambler, the first two being 563
escaped convicts from Sydney. Morgan and Ambler were killed at a later date 175
by the chiefs because of their gross disrespect. Each of these three men lived with several women and behaved in brazen defiance of Christian principles. They were more importunate in demanding tools and did more thieving than the Tongans. When their demands were refused, they threatened to turn the people against the missionaries. This they did without any scruples. They told the Tongans that they themselves were sons of the King of England and that the missionaries were only commoners. When the missionaries informed the Tongans that these men were in fact criminals, the rascals' wrath knew no bounds. They attributed the deaths of several chiefs to the prayers of the missionaries and they declared that the newcomers were preparing for the annexation of Tonga by the English government after the chiefs were dead. Thus early was the fear of losing Tonga's independence used against the interests of a Christian Mission.

At first the missionaries did not close their doors for worship, but the people's curiosity and irreverence made them change their practice, very unwisely as it proved. Holding their worship behind closed doors gave colour to the convicts' lie that they were practising secret magical rites to destroy the Tongans.

When the captain of a passing ship was asked by the missionaries to take Morgan and Ambler away, he declined because some of his crew recognized them and feared the consequences if they joined the vessel. Three of the crew of this ship came ashore and the missionaries begged the captain not to allow them to bring firearms. but one sailor ignored this request. The L.M.S. party now decided that it would be safer to divide their forces; six remained at Hihifo and four went to live elsewhere under the protection of other chiefs.

Two of the party, Shelley and Cooper, paid a short visit to Vava'u. Evidently 797
they did nothing more than this, and their visit did not deprive the three L.M.S. 175
teachers from Borabora who went to Vava'u in 1822 of the honour of being the first to endeavour to take Christianity to that island.

When the *Duff* returned to Tongatapu in 1798 with more stores and tools, 797
one of the party, Isaac Hobbs, went away with the ship. The nine were reduced 563
to eight when George Vason chose to desert his comrades and live with the 175
Tongans, renouncing his faith and taking a Tongan woman as his partner. This defection was "the unkindest cut of all" and left the others in the depths of depression. Vason attached himself to Mulikiha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, who gave him an extensive plot of land which Vason and a band of retainers cultivated with fruitful results; and there he luxuriated shamelessly.

Mumui had been succeeded as Tu'i Kanokupolu by his son, Tuku'aho. With 797
him began a gloomy era, not only for the missionaries who had met with no 643
success whatever even before the Civil War, but for the whole of the country. 175
Tonga was entering its Dark Age.

The new Tu'i Kanokupolu proved a Nero in his fiendish cruelty. On one 643
occasion he ordered the left hand of each of twelve servants to be cut off, 175
merely, it seems, to differentiate them from others and not for any offence. At

[1799-1800]

only against men from Ha’apai and Vava’u, led by Finau ’Ulukalala, the head 175
and front of the rebellion, but also the followers of the Ha’a Havea chiefs in the 669
central district of Tongatapu. Mulikiha’amea, the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua, from that 634
district, allied himself with Finau ’Ulukalala; the renegade Vason relates that 643
Mulikiha’amea, his patron, had known of the plot to kill Tuku’aho.

In the first battle the rebel coalition was successful, but soon afterwards it 175
was defeated by the royalists at the battle of Te’ekiu, and Mulikiha’amea himself 669
was killed in this fight, on 19 May 1799. The lamentable deaths of three L.M.S. missionaries took place that day.

The defeated rebels fled from Te’ekiu, with the Hihifo men in hot pursuit. 175
Three of the missionaries (Samuel Harper, David Bowell, and Samuel Gaulton) 669
had been living in Ha’ateiho, a village in the central district, under the protection 797
of the local chief. On this fatal day, 19 May, some of the retreating rebels tried 797
to persuade the missionaries in Ha’ateiho to flee with them in canoes across the 609
lagoon to the eastern end of the island. The three men preferred to remain. Soon afterwards the Hihifo pursuers appeared. One of these was a man with a grudge against the missionaries who had refused his request for an axe some time before. Taking advantage of the white men’s helpless situation, this warrior and his comrades clubbed them to death without hesitation and then proceeded to steal everything in their house. Together with the three missionaries there perished a friendly English sailor named Burnham who had been living with them. The four bodies, grossly disfigured, were left on the roadside for several weeks, treated with coarse indignities by the now utterly savage Tongans. It was on 5 June that the other missionaries found the almost unidentifiable remains and buried them in a shallow trench, without coffins or shrouds; later, the chief of Ha’ateiho reinterred the bodies in a decent grave, the location of which is unknown today.

The confused battles of the Sea Flats, along the northern shores of Tongatapu, 175
followed. In these, fortunes changed several times. In the course of these desultory 669
encounters many of the royalists took refuge in the burial-enclosure of the Tu’i Kanokupolu line at Pangai, Hihifo, expecting to find sanctuary in such a sacred place. Because Vason was outside the *tapu* (= prohibition) he was persuaded by the rebels to set fire to the burial-enclosure. All those within, men, women and children, were burnt to death or were killed by Finau’s men as they tried to
escape from the flames. After every possible insult had been heaped on the [266]
bodies they were eaten. Cannibalism had become commonplace in these days of barbarism.

The five surviving missionaries were in a most precarious position. At first 175
they found shelter in caves on the southern coast. Their house in Hihifo had 669
been ransacked and burnt down, their clothes stolen by the people among whom 797
they had lived, and they had very little food. On 24 January 1800 they were fortunate in securing a passage to Sydney in a passing ship, *Betsy*. William Shelley and James Cooper decided to settle in New South Wales. The others (Seth Kelso, John Buchanan, and James Wilkinson) continued on the voyage to England.

When Captain Wilson brought another party of L.M.S. missionaries to the 175
South Seas in the *Royal Admiral* in 1800, his instructions were to call at 797
Tongatapu and to take away any who desired to leave. If they were staying he was charged to inform them that one or more should be ordained so that there would be at least three ordained ministers in every L.M.S. station such as

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[1802-1824].

Chapter III.

"A NATION OF WRECKERS"

Far from being a nation of friendly islanders, the Tongans of this period had 175
become "a nation of wreckers".(1) The tools and other treasures from the outside 181
world which the Tongans stole from strangers on their shores only whetted their
appetites for ships and their contents, including the guns which would give victory
in the Civil War. Tonga soon gained a new and evil reputation for cunning 175
attacks on vessels, such as the following:— 177

Duke of Portland, a Boston whaler, which called at Tongatapu in June 609
1802. A white man helped the Tongans to attack the ship after the usual
professions of friendship had been given by a chief. Many of the crew were
killed and their bodies thrown overboard. A woman, Elizabeth Morey, was taken
to be the servant of the chief's wife. After the cargo had been taken ashore the
four remaining crewmen surprisingly drove off the natives, killed the treacherous
white man, and took the ship out to sea.

Union, another American ship, which reached Tongatapu on 30 September 1804. Again Tongans swarmed over the ship but were ordered off. In one of the canoes surrounding the ship was the white woman, Elizabeth Morey, who made signs to the crew not to accept an invitation to go ashore. She then swam to the ship under cover of the sailors' muskets. Those sailors who had gone ashore were murdered and eaten.

Port-au-Prince, in 1806, with 26 of its crew killed and 34 spared to work the captured guns.

Mercury, 1809, which would have been captured but for the warning given by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince* and was still living in Tonga.

Supply, at 'Eua in 1822, attacked after a boat had gone ashore to get water. Three of the ship's company and several Tongans were killed in the fight on board.

Elizabeth, at Vava'u in 1823, which escaped after an attack led by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince*; four of the crew were killed.

In some instances sailors were guilty of shameful acts against the people on shore. Reprisals could then be expected against the next ship that called. *Rambler*, at Vava'u in 1824, was one that suffered because of the misconduct of a previous vessel; its captain was among those killed. Other ships would have been attacked but for the watchfulness of their captains.

The attack on *Port-au-Prince* was the most famous incident, not only because of the effect of the guns that Finau 'Ulukalala used afterwards, but because of the classic account of Tonga given by William Mariner, who lived with his captors for four years.

Port-au-Prince, English whaling ship and privateer, 466 tons, with 28 guns, 175
had despoiled Spanish shipping and towns along the western coast of South 177
609
721

[1806]

America before it visited Lifuka, Ha'apai. The ship's company included the lad 175
Mariner, the captain's clerk, only 13 years of age when the ship left England 177
and 15 when *Port-au-Prince* was attacked. The captain had expected from Cook's 609
account that he would find a favourable place in Ha'apai for repairing his leaking 721
vessel. The spot where Cook's ships had anchored and had escaped from the plot in 1777 was the scene of the tragic destruction of *Port-au-Prince* on 1 December 1806. With extraordinary imprudence the captain allowed Tongans with their weapons to wander about his ship. They were under orders from the wily Finau 'Ulukalala who had professed friendliness towards the captain. At a given signal the sailors were attacked by 300 Tongans; twenty-two were killed and their bodies cast into the sea. The captain and three others on shore also were killed. The rest, thirty-four, were spared to work the guns which Finau had especially coveted. He took a fancy to young Mariner, who became attached to his entourage and was given a Tongan name, Toki 'Ukamea (= Iron Axe). While the ship was being broken up to get the iron the barrels of whale-oil in the hold burst; eight Tongans were drowned. Taufa'ahau, the future king, then a boy about nine years old, was pulled out of the oil just in time. The ship was burnt and the silver coins and plate which had been taken from the Spaniards were melted and lost in the fire.(2)

Finau 'Ulukalala took eight cannons to conduct the war on a new scale in 175
Tongatapu. In this invasion he first made an assault on the fort at Nuku'alofa. 669
This fort, the largest of twelve then existing in Tongatapu, stood on the hill 713
afterwards called Zion because of the Wesleyan chapel there. The fort was more 634
than four acres in extent, surrounded by a reed fence nine feet high and two 712
ditches, each twelve feet in width and of the same depth. While the bombardment was being made from the beach, Finau observed the effect from the reef where he sat on a chair taken from the *Port-au-Prince*. After one hour the fort seemed to show little sign of damage but, when Finau's men had gone closer and burnt the fort, they were able to enter it without any opposition. The havoc resulting from the bombardment was then evident, and Finau felt satisfied with the success of his new style of warfare. The bodies of 350 defenders who had been killed by the guns were thrown into the sea.

Finau's treachery and insatiable ambition were further revealed in the murder 175
of his half-brother, Tupouniua. The plot was carried out, with Finau's connivance, 669
by Tupouto'a, son of Tuku'aho, the Tu'i Kanokupolu whom Tupouniua had killed 634
in 1799. After Tupouto'a had taken his revenge the chiefs in Vava'u retaliated against the murderer of their governor Tupouniua, and his accomplice, the lord of
Vava'u and Ha'apai, Finau himself. The Vava'u chiefs built a fort on the hill-top 175
at Feletoa, an inland village. It was so large that it included the cave on the 669
hillside with the entrance to an underground stream, and it was capable of holding 634
all the inhabitants of Vava'u, estimated at 8,000. Its area and the dimensions of 712
its walls and ditches exceeded those at Nuku'alofa. Shrewdly the defenders of Feletoa had built the outside earth-walls of their fort so high that cannon-balls would strike them but not penetrate the interior of the fort. When Finau brought his army and his much-vaunted guns from Ha'apai he found that, after six hours'
bombardment, his guns were useless against the Feletoa fort. As his weary men 175
dragged the guns back to Finau's base on the shore at Neiafu, they freely cursed 669
the Englishmen who could make guns fire cannon-balls but were not clever 634
enough to make them walk! A peace settlement followed, but Finau, deceitful as

[1822]

L.M.S. missionaries and a Captain Thompson had sent him a letter reminding 797
him of the murderous attacks that Tongans had made on ships and advising him
against taking his wife and child.

Both before and after Lawry left, there was much interest in Sydney in his mission. Governor Brisbane generously gave him seven sheep, seven cows, and a bull. *The Sydney Gazette* published long accounts of Tongatapu from the reports that Lawry sent back.

On 16 August 1822 the ship reached Ma'ofanga, Tongatapu. Here Lawry 563
was met by William Singleton, a survivor of the *Port-au-Prince*, who had been
living with the Tongans for sixteen years. Though he had adopted some Tongan
habits he was generally helpful to Lawry. Lawry lent Singleton a copy of John [797]
Wesley's *Sermons* in his desire that the old sailor might be converted through
reading them!

On 22 August Lawry came ashore at Mu'a and met Fatu, or Palau, as 797
Lawry always called him. This chief, "the stoutest man I ever saw" (Lawry said),
was the son of Mulikiha'amea, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, killed in 1799, and was the 622
father of the first Tungi. Palau proved friendly for most of Lawry's stay in Mu'a. 609
He gave him six acres of land for a house and garden, in return for one saw, [437]
one plane and five chisels. Palau was probably affected by the solemn words of a
priest adjuring him and his people not to harm the missionary because his god
"had told him that Tonga would suffer grievously if this happened".(7)

St. Michael sailed away on 30 October, taking two "handsome and 797
ponderous" Tongans; Lawry thought that this would help to secure the return
of the ship.

The missionary began with sanguine thoughts of a ready response from the
people. He believed that Tonga had returned to a state of peace after many years [669]
of warfare; in this he was incorrect for fighting broke out in 'Eua and elsewhere
soon after he came.

On 8 September he recorded his first sermon-texts, Matthew ix. 36 and
Matthew xxviii. 18-20. Over-optimistic as he was inclined to be, he was planning
future missions in Fiji and Samoa when he had not won a single convert in
Tonga. Soon, however, he became down-hearted and disillusioned; the Tongans'
whole lives, he wrote, were "a mass of corruption". Before *St. Michael* sailed 797
away there was a plot to kill Singleton because he had prevented the Tongans 609
from getting articles out of the ship.(8) Pilfering was a constant problem. A later
statement summed up Lawry's opinion:

> "Every day's experience serves to convince me that these natives are not in love with us but with our property." (9)

With the country itself, its luxuriant vegetation and the bountiful supplies of food available, Lawry was delighted. With the people it was otherwise. Their unceremonious entry at all hours into the rooms occupied by Lawry and his wife was vexatious. "We are exposed to the obtrusive and vulgar stare of the Indians" (as Lawry called the Tongans). Conditions improved slightly when seven months had passed and a native dwelling, with its swarms of rats, lizards and vermin, had been exchanged for the mission house, erected by Lilly, Tindall and Wright, with indifferent assistance from the easy-going people. "Cokevernal" was the name Lawry gave to the mission property, in honour of Thomas Coke, "Prince of missionaries, our late venerable father".

[1822-1823]

Lawry gave a graphic description of the presentation of first-fruits to the 797
Tu'i Tonga as an offering to "the god who sent them good yams". Thousands, 796
including great numbers from Ha'apai and Vava'u, were present at the festival which lasted nine days. Lawry noted that in actual fact there was no Tu'i Tonga at that time and "so they waved their yams before the place where he used to sit".(10)

The lying accusations which Morgan and other rascals had made against the 797
L.M.S. missionaries were now repeated against Lawry. It was said that he, too, 609
was a spy sent by the British Government and that, as the earlier missionaries' prayers had been followed by the deaths of chiefs and by ruinous wars, the same tragedies would befall Tonga again. One chief told the others that in a dream a departed relative had come back to tell him that the white man would "pray you all dead". "Now," Lawry wrote, "there is no hope of the Mission prospering."(11) Plots were formed against the Mission party, with extensive plunder as the first objective. Singleton's vigilance saved Lawry more than once. Later, when John Thomas succeeded Lawry, he was told that there had been four distinct plots against Lawry and that the chiefs had been undecided about whether to wait for a returning ship in order to get still more goods by attacking both the ship and the party on shore.

The chief Palau, on whom Lawry had relied for protection, sometimes stole his goods and disturbed him greatly with his unreliable attitude.(12) On 1 January 1823 Lawry reviewed the situation and wrote —

> "Hitherto we seem to have done nothing towards the conversion of these heathens. We cannot speak the language and the white man" (Singleton) "who resides among us cares not to interpret spiritual things to them."

In some respects Lawry seemed strangely inactive. He did not build a chapel nor begin a school. He relied on visits to chiefs and conversing with them through an interpreter. On the other hand, the visits he received were most embarrassing; as many as ten chiefs at a time would descend on the mission house and expect to be entertained with cooked meals in European style and they would be accompanied by from 50 to 100 of their people also looking for hospitality.

Lawry did his best with the language but with very little success. There 797
was nothing to guide him (he did not know Mariner's vocabulary) and Singleton was not a very helpful tutor. Nevertheless, Lawry felt he was making "pretty good progress" (27 March) and, on 23 May, he recorded an attempted conversation with some of the people about the fundamentals of Christianity.

Mrs. Lawry had a miscarriage on 16 February 1823. It was thought to have been caused by heavy washing and by lifting tubs in the intense heat. Later in the year she was pregnant again and Lawry feared for what might happen if childbirth occurred in Tonga, without any female assistance. The little child, Henry, was often ill. The stores were exhausted, the dearth of goods for barter aggravated the relations with the people, and the missionary's clothes were almost worn out. The *St. Michael* did not return until 12 July 1823, much later than expected. Lawry now determined that he must leave on the vessel, chiefly because of his wife's condition.

Furthermore, Lawry was disappointed in the failure of the Committee in London to send him a colleague in spite of his urgent requests, sent on 7 December 1822 and 8 January 1823. Instead of receiving support, he received letters

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[1823-1827]

reproaching him for going to Tonga at all, even though the British Conference 797
had appointed him and the Sydney Committee had unanimously directed him to
go alone. He was charged with incurring excessive expense in the enterprise. Old
allegations of his clashing with the Anglican clergy's hours of worship in New
South Wales were revived. He was, finally, told by the Committee in London
that he was appointed to Van Diemen's Land although, in actual fact, his name
still stood on the appointments of the British Conference for Tonga in 1822-23-24.

Lawry did not desert his post as some have imagined. He was ordered away
to Van Diemen's Land without anyone being appointed to succeed him in Tonga
at that time. On 3 October 1823 he left, amid professions of sorrow from Palau 797
and the people. Just before he went there had been a strong reaction in his favour 609
because of the glowing reports brought back from Sydney by Futakava and his 177
friend, the two "handsome and ponderous" Tongans who had left on *St. Michael*
twelve months before and who returned on that vessel. Their statements had "an
electrifying effect", Lawry said. They recounted the many acts of kindness shown
them by Governor Brisbane and the people of Sydney, the size and variety of
the buildings, and especially the attendances at the churches and Sunday schools
and the observance of the Sabbath.

Notwithstanding this reaction, Lawry felt obliged to leave for his wife's 797
sake. They reached Sydney only four days before the birth of her child. Lawry
left behind the artisans, Tindall and Lilly, with instructions to look after the
house and property and to await the arrival of another missionary in his place.
He reposed every confidence in their dependability and also believed that the
chiefs would not interfere with them. In January 1825 Lilly returned to Australia; [609]
he had found it almost impossible to prevent the Tongans taking possession of
goods and he brought with him as much of the property as he could remove.
Lilly was afterwards a useful church-worker in Australia. Tindall left Mu'a and [563]
went to Hihifo, in the west of the island, under the protection of the chief Ata;
and the next missionary, John Thomas, found him there in 1826.

If Lawry had been able to continue at Mu'a, or if his successors had concentrated on the eastern and central districts of Tongatapu instead of attempting the intractable western district of Hihifo (as John Thomas did), there might have been eventual success in these important areas where the Tu'i Tonga and the Ha'a Havea chiefs lived. If Wesleyan missionaries had succeeded at Mu'a, Vaini, Pea and adjacent towns, the rebellions against the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotu'a, and, later, Taufa'ahau — rebellions which always emanated from these districts — might conceivably not have occurred.

Lawry spoke of his work as "preparatory". It seems doubtful whether he would have continued, even if he had not met with so many difficulties in his fourteen months. Nevertheless, Lawry is the true Wesleyan pioneer in Tonga.

Lawry's immediate successors, however, were critical. John Thomas complained,

> "Why did he not remain himself if it is a proper place for a missionary? Why did he return?" (13)

Nathaniel Turner, not long after his arrival in 1827, condemned Lawry's work in these drastic terms —

> "Not a vestige of real missionary fruit, no vocabulary of the language, no school, no house of prayer — in fact, a perfect failure." (14)

[1822-1830]

Beyond a message from the captain that the three Borabora teachers had arrived at Vava'u there seems to have been no communication whatever with these men in the years following. John Davies, another L.M.S. missionary in Tahiti, wrote of the "two-fold error" in this enterprise — 797

> "One was sending them at random to Vava'u when there was great uncertainty of their ever being visited, and the other in sending untried novices destitute of principle, in consequence of which some of those sent to Vava'u apostated as they did." (3)

Borabora, Taute and Zorababela were the names of these three men from Borabora who came to bring Christianity to Vava'u at the end of 1822. Though two of them fell away, under the most lonely and discouraging conditions, all three deserve to be remembered for venturing to go as Christian teachers to other lands. The names of these three stand at the head of the long list of South Seas missionaries preserved in the memorial book in the chapel of the Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji.

At that time (1822) Vava'u was ruled by Finau 'Ulukalala III, also called Tuapasi or Finau Fisi, brother of the notorious Finau 'Ulukalala II, and uncle and successor to Moengangongo, the friend of William Mariner. This chief was a truculent opponent of Christian teaching which he probably feared as being likely to affect his control over his people. Accordingly he forbade the three L.M.S. teachers to propagate the Christian faith in Vava'u and threatened to kill any of his people who listened to them. The three men built a small chapel at Tu'anekivale for their own worship. It is said that their descendants still live in that village. Taute and Zorababela renounced their Christian profession and lapsed into heathen practices. Zorababela died before long. The third, Borabora, stood firm but felt quite deserted; 797 609 797

> "... especially as no ship came for years and there was no communication, he felt the teachers were abandoned by those who sent them." (4)

Borabora was tempted to give up his faith as his colleagues had done but, when he heard that two Tahitian L.M.S. missionaries, Haepe and Tafeta, had begun teaching in Nuku'alofa in 1826, he went there and worked earnestly with them in the short period before his death. John Williams said that Borabora had lapsed but not to the same extent as Zorababela and Taute, and that he fully regained his faith after joining the Tahitian teachers at Nuku'alofa.(5) Both Zorababela in Vava'u and Borabora at Nuku'alofa had died, leaving only the third, Taute, when the L.M.S. missionary leader, John Williams, paid his important visit to Nuku'alofa and Ha'apai in 1830.

In the L.M.S. records of 7 November 1823, Vava'u is stated to be one of the "daughters of the Church in Borabora".(6) These words must have expressed a hope of success when it was not realized that the mission to Vava'u had entirely failed.

• • • •

A very different result followed the ministry of two Tahitian teachers who arrived in Nuku'alofa in March 1826. It should not be forgotten that the first Tongans converted to Christianity were won by these devoted L.M.S. teachers, Haepe (spelt "Hape" in some texts) and Tafeta (David). After the failure of European missionaries in 1797-1800, and the abandonment of Lawry's effort without a convert in October 1823, success had come at last. These two teachers came from the church at Papara, in Tahiti, where the missionary was John Davies.

[1822-1830]

Turner and William Cross. In his writing Williams gave the highest praise to the quality of the work of Turner and Cross which he studied closely. He saw the progress of the building of the new chapel on Zion Hill. He was gratified with the commendation that Turner gave for the co-operation of Haepe and Tafeta.

This visit had distinct importance because of the relations between the two missionary societies in Samoa and Fiji afterwards. Detailed reference will be made to these matters in the sections of this history dealing with those two groups. It is sufficient here to mention that, in his *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, pp.259-60 (1839 edition), Williams claimed that a verbal agreement with Turner and Cross was made to leave Samoa to the L.M.S. and Tonga and Fiji to the Wesleyans. In 1915 the journal of John Williams was found with the archives of Captain Morgan, of the L.M.S. ship *Camden*, and, although many details are given about events in this visit, there is no reference to any agreement to reserve Samoa for the L.M.S. and leave Tonga and Fiji to the Wesleyans; and no report to this effect was sent to the Directors of the L.M.S. by Williams.(14)

While Williams and Barff were still at Nuku'alofa, Captain Henry, *Minerva*, arrived in the port. He was a son of a L.M.S. missionary in Tahiti and was interested in the work of the Mission. He had brought the two Tahitian teachers, Haepe and Tafeta, in the *Minerva* to Nuku'alofa in 1826. Afterwards Captain Henry visited Lakeba and was assured by the chief that any teachers left there would receive his protection. Captain Henry and Takai, the Fijian, had now brought one teacher from the church of John Davies at Papara, Tahiti, and he requested two more from Williams's party for Fiji. Williams replied that his teachers were for Samoa and Vava'u. He declared that his intention, after leaving Nuku'alofa, was to go to "Ha'apai and Vava'u", "and, after finishing the distribution of teachers in that quarter to sail for the Fijis".(15)

From his *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* it appears that Williams had intended to go to Fiji and the New Hebrides before visiting Samoa. Adverse reports from the New Hebrides, however, induced him to change his plans and to sail to Samoa, via Ha'apai. Yielding to the call for Fiji, he detached two of the teachers in his party and these went with Captain Henry and Takai to Lakeba.

In Williams's party was another Borabora teacher, Taihaere, intended for Vava'u. At Lifuka, Ha'apai, Williams met Taufa'ahau and also Finau 'Ulukalala who had come from Vava'u for a wedding festival. This gave Williams the opportunity of speaking to Finau about the three Borabora teachers who had been sent to Vava'u in 1822. Taute, the surviving Borabora teacher, who had lapsed, was among the people from Vava'u who were accompanying Finau. When Williams wished to speak to Taute, Finau insisted that he should be interviewed only in his presence. The hapless Borabora native trembled because of Finau. His downcast looks also betokened his shame at having renounced his Christian profession. Williams relates the incident in his *Missionary Enterprises* and his account is amplified in the *L.M.S. Records*:—

> "We began by telling Finau how sorry we were that the teachers first sent to Vava'u had acted so improperly and we were directed from the Church at Borabora to tell him how much they lamented the improper conduct of their brethren, and in order as far as possible to make amends they had sent another of their number in whom they could confide and begged that he would accept him and his family."

Finau replied that:

> "The former teachers had not acted so badly but he would not listen to them nor suffer

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[1822-1830]

> any of his people, and he and his family were still of the same mind and would have nothing to do with the *lotu* (= Christian religion) for a long time to come. We might leave the man and his family if we pleased; he would not kill them but neither he nor his people would take the new religion on pain of death." (16) 797 609

Williams believed that Taute was inclined to reconsider his position and return to his duties; but Finau sternly forbade him to do this.

It was evident to Williams that any further L.M.S. effort in Vava'u would be futile because of Finau's "forbidding aspect", his threats, and his reputation for ferocity. Taihaere, the new teacher from Borabora whom Williams had wished to leave at Vava'u, was very different from the three men sent there eight years before; he had the status of a catechist and had been a Christian for more than ten years. With his wife and three children he was taken to Samoa, instead of Vava'u, and he became one of the L.M.S. pioneers there. Afterwards, Williams was pleased that Finau had not accepted Taihaere as, he declared, there was work for fifty teachers in Samoa. (17) Williams found some consolation in hearing that a few of Finau's people from Vava'u had fled to Ha'apai and were receiving instruction from John Thomas, who had moved from Hihifo, Tongatapu, to Lifuka.

A complicating fact in the matter of the controversial agreement between the Wesleyan and L.M.S. missionaries at Nuku'alofa was that Williams seemingly did not think that placing L.M.S. teachers at "Ha'apai and Vava'u" would have been inconsistent with any agreement to leave Tonga to the Wesleyans. Nothing happened with regard to Ha'apai but only Finau's opposition foiled the plan for Vava'u. By 1830 no one could have believed that Vava'u was part of Samoa, as the L.M.S. had thought in 1822. If Turner and Cross at Nuku'alofa had known of Williams's intention to place a teacher in Vava'u they had not offered any objection. However, John Thomas in Ha'apai knew about it and he wrote in his journal: 797

> "I felt a little surprised to find that Williams wished to leave a teacher at Vava'u, it being what we considered part of our charge, the people of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u being one people and under one head, the king at Nuku'alofa."(18)

The dispute about the agreement in 1830 had most unfortunate consequences in Samoa, as the history of that section will relate. Whatever the nature and terms of any agreement, it could well be regarded as a natural division of labour to allocate Tonga and Fiji to the Wesleyans and Samoa to the L.M.S. The L.M.S. could not be accused of overlapping or offending against "the comity of missions", a phrase not used in those days but a principle generally observed by Protestant Missions. When the Wesleyans began their work in Nuku'alofa the two Tahitians co-operated with them and then vacated the field. The L.M.S. teachers who went to Fiji in 1830 were instructed by Williams to leave whenever Wesleyan missionaries went there; and, after Cross and Cargill began in Lakeba in 1835, these Tahitians (then on the neighbouring island of Oneata) laboured faithfully together with the Wesleyans. 000

The stationing of eight L.M.S. teachers in Samoa by Williams in 1830 was consistent with his belief that he was entitled to do as he wished in Samoa. He took with him a Samoan chief, Fauea, who had been in Tonga for eleven years and had been influenced by the teaching of the Wesleyans in Nuku'alofa; he proved an invaluable helper in introducing Williams to his fellow-countrymen. The L.M.S. eventually became the church of the overwhelming majority of the Samoan people.

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797 The party landed on 5 July. The people have a story that Thomas put his umbrella upright, temporarily, in the sand on the beach at Ha'atafu, Hihifo, and the onlookers waited to see whether the waves would reach the umbrella as a superstitious indication that the party should be attacked. At the Centenary celebrations in 1926 this scene was enacted by one of the village groups in a descriptive dance with singing. The missionaries met Ata, the chief of Hihifo, under whose protection they lived henceforth. Through Tindall as interpreter, Thomas told Ata:

> "We came to their island, not because their land was better than ours, neither did we come to join them in their wars, but we came to teach them to know and fear the Lord, and many other good things."(2)

A memorial stone marks the site of the landing of Thomas. Another has been placed on the site of what was regarded as the first observance of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Tonga, on 1 October 1826. The sacramental service of the L.M.S. missionaries in 1797, however, was the first. Walter Lawry also had observed the Sacrament during his term, as his journal discloses. The observance in 1826 was for the missionaries, with their wives, and, no doubt, Tindall, Wright, and Bambridge. On 2 October 1826 the first Quarterly Meeting was held, in conformity with Wesleyan usage, in spite of the diminutive membership.

From the beginning nothing deterred Thomas from following Wesleyan practice. On the first Sunday on shore, 9 July, there were two services in the native house occupied by the mission party. Psalm 84.11 was the text of John Thomas's first sermon in Tonga. Every day he held family worship, morning and evening. In addition to the two Sunday services there was a prayer meeting on Wednesday evening, and a members' or "class" meeting on Friday evening. A few curious Tongans often attended these services which were in English, Tindall explaining afterwards what had been said. On 19 June 1827, Thomas recorded the presence of nineteen Tongans at a service.

797 609 Ata gave the missionaries land for building their house. Nevertheless, from the outset he told Thomas, as Palau had told Lawry, that he would never accept Christianity. He was also determined to prevent his people receiving the new teaching. In doing this he violated the agreement he had made with Thomas at the outset. The building of the mission house, made of frames brought from Sydney, was delayed through the people's refusal to help unless they were paid. Those who had carried the missionaries' goods the distance of two miles from the beach had required payment and, in many cases, had stolen the goods on the way. When finally erected, the mission house was imposing. Of two storeys for the two families, facing Maria Bay and the sunrise, it could be seen for many miles and was an object of wonder to the people. Like Lawry's house at Mu'a, this one also was called "Cokevernal". It was purposely erected outside Ata's fort to avoid involvement in any tribal quarrels. Many chiefs from other parts of the island visited the missionaries to see the house and with the hope of receiving presents, axes and tools.

Hutchinson, in his report to the Committee in London, declared that the people, influenced by the chiefs, often abused the missionaries. Of one, unnamed, from Lawry's old station at Mu'a, Hutchinson wrote,

> "The chief who had taken forcible possession of Cokevernal, purposed to kill the men belonging to the Mission, but to spare our dear wives, no doubt for the worst purposes." (3)

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[ca. 1826 - 1827]

Thomas also reported a plot against the missionaries and their wives, in terms similar to those in Hutchinson's Letter. 797

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There were other difficulties. Thomas and Hutchinson made very slow progress with the language in spite of having Tindall and Wright to help them. Pilfering was a constant annoyance. The priests predicted a drought because of the missionaries' presence; fortunately, it did not happen. Ata was frequently obstructive and once, when particularly offended, he declared that he would take the mission house for his own residence.

Thomas could not adopt the usual missionary procedure of teaching groups of people because of Ata's prohibition. Evidently his only pupil was Lolohea, Ata's sickly step-son, who asked to be instructed. A few women whom Mrs. Thomas had begun to teach were taken away by Ata's orders. He refused leave for a chapel to be built and he sent men to watch at the gate of the mission house to stop any entering to worship there.

A little relief came from the interesting description of London and Sydney given to the people by the lad, Watson Nau, whom Lawry had taken back with him and who had returned with Thomas. On the whole, however, the situation was most depressing for Thomas. He felt not only that Hihifo was hopeless but believed that Mu'a and other places might be even worse. He declared that he was "beginning to fear that there was very little probability of our succeeding in any of the neighbouring islands", i.e., Ha'apai and Vava'u. Occasionally there was a slight glimmering of hope; although Ata had threatened death to people who went to the missionaries for worship or teaching, his wife Papa (though just as hostile as Ata) asked them to pray for the recovery of a young relative and, when the child died, desired them to make a wooden coffin for the burial.

Thomas became more than ever conscious of his lack of training and experience. Although he was no coward, the obstacles he found reduced him almost to despair. Once he wrote,

> "Labouring at the anvil from morning to night would be ease compared with the labours and anxieties of a missionary in Tonga." (4)

The choice of his colleague was proving most unfortunate. Hutchinson's critical and petulant nature would have made him a trial to anyone and it was well that he did not stay long in Tonga. The disagreement between the two men grew, and Hutchinson soon declared his intention of leaving at the first opportunity. He alleged that he had mistaken his sense of vocation and desired to return to his farm in Tasmania — as he eventually did. Less than three months after their arrival, Thomas wrote about Hutchinson: 797

> "His mind was distinctly made up now on leaving the island. . . . He would risk his life no longer among such a set of men." (5)

It was regrettable that both Hutchinson and his young wife had indifferent health. They complained also about inadequate domestic help; their servant, a young girl from Sydney, proved unreliable. It seemed, however, to Thomas that neither of these circumstances justified their determination to leave and their preparations in packing their goods. Hutchinson wanted a second servant. Thomas had none for his wife of whom he wrote:

> "She has no objection to work, but I little thought she would become a common drudge in a tropical climate." (6)

Hutchinson amazed Thomas by saying that he had been instructed by the ministers in Sydney to report any failures in Thomas's ministry; naturally, Thomas

[1826-1828]

was upset about this.(7) Lawry's failure had been largely attributable to his having 797
no colleague. Thomas found an unco-operative colleague worse than none. At the end of the year, 31 December 1826, he kept the watchnight vigil — alone. Even more poignant was the revelation in his journal for Easter Day 1827 —

> "Mr. Hutchinson did not attend the table of the Lord nor has he ever done so since we came here."

This unpardonable action was evidently due to Hutchinson believing that Thomas was his inferior! On the other hand, Thomas recorded that he received the Sacrament at Hutchinson's hands on 13 February 1828, not long before Hutchinson left Tonga. Also, Thomas was asked to baptize Hutchinson's infant son soon after he was born, evidently in June 1827; no record of the dates of birth and baptism is traceable but this was the first infant baptism in Tonga.

Aleamotu'a, of Nuku'alofa, patron of the two Tahitian teachers, visited Thomas and asked for an English missionary because, he said, he wanted to learn the English language.(8) 'Ulakai, the Christian chief from Nuku'alofa, also offered friendship. In his journal Thomas gave his opinion that Nuku'alofa would have been a better place for the Wesleyan Mission, but "our way has been shut up", meaning by this that the Tahitians were already labouring there.

The French ship *Astrolabe* brought the first letters for the missionaries after ten months, on 21 April 1827. The commander, Dumont D'Urville, was searching for *La Perouse*. Thomas sent a letter with this ship informing the Sydney Committee that Hutchinson had decided to leave and asking them to send another missionary in his place. There may have been a touch of English prejudice that induced him to express the hope that the replacement would not be another "colonial"! When he asked for a substitute for Hutchinson he urged the Committee not to send more than one because, the larger the party and the greater the property, the worse would be the stealing.

Thomas recorded, on 11 May 1827, the troubles that occurred during the 797
visit of the *Astrolabe*. Quarrels arose during the bartering of goods for pigs and 609
yams; the Tongans felt that they were being unfairly treated. The dispute came 648
to a head when three sailors went ashore to live with the Tongans. The boat sent 177
by the captain to recapture these sailors was attacked and its occupants were captured. Other Frenchmen were then ordered ashore to burn the Tongans' houses. In a fight that followed one sailor was killed and three Tongans wounded. D'Urville then bombarded the village of Ma'ofanga and nearby places for two days. While the *Astrolabe* was at anchor, Thomas met the captain. He remarked afterwards on "the reckless immorality of the crew on shore".

Before long the French deserters showed hostility towards the missionaries 797
and began to circulate stories like those used against the L.M.S. missionaries in 563
1797, namely, that Thomas and Hutchinson were "praying the Tongans to death"; they told the people that the missioaries were plotting to take away their country and give it to the King of England.(9) (One of the French deserters was Charles Simonet who was responsible for calumnies against the Wesleyan missionaries during the wars of 1837.)

By 11 June 1827 John Thomas had reached the conclusion that the Mission 797
had failed. On the anniversary of his arrival in Tonga (28 June 1827) he noted in his journal:

> "We hope the time is drawing nigh when we shall depart from its unfriendly inhabitants."

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[1827-1829]

the *koka* tree at Hihifo where every Tu'i Kanokupolu had been installed. At 797 643 Nuku'alofa Turner held services in his own house or out-of-doors until Aleamotu'a felt sufficiently confident to defy the chiefs and resume public worship. Some services were held on the open space *(mala'e)* facing the beach, and it was here that Taufa'ahau, on a visit from Ha'apai, heard Turner preach.

During the unsettlement of this period, when Aleamotu'a was not worshipping, the missionaries' lives and property were in danger. The non-Christian chiefs [609] sent a message that Turner and Cross would be killed unless they went away.(20) Aleamotu'a sent armed guards to the mission house to protect the occupants. At one stage Aleamotu'a considered removing to Ha'apai, or even Samoa or Fiji, and taking the missionaries with him. He called on those who were of this mind to board his canoe, and added, "All you who love the devil, sit still"; all the people on the beach decided that they would go with Aleamotu'a.(21) Afterwards he found there was no need to leave. When, on 1 June 1828, after six months' abstention, Aleamotu'a attended worship again, hundreds of people came to the service.

While these events were transpiring at Nuku'alofa John Thomas was toiling 797 on at Hihifo. After three years he could report only three "members on trial". He had laboured hard against the relentless opposition of Ata who would not [609] permit Thomas even to visit the sick and the dying. Yet the coming of Turner and Cross had given flashes of new hope to Thomas for, on 25 June 1828, he wrote,

> "If Tonga" (= Tongatapu) "becomes Christianized we have good reason to believe that not only the Ha'apais and Vava'u will receive the truth but we shall obtain success in Fiji and the Navigators' Islands" (= Samoa). "Here are men from each of the latter and the Tongan canoes go to these islands." (22)

The District Meeting on 28 September 1828 recommended the Committee to set up new stations at Ha'apai and Vava'u. The Meeting resolved that Hutchinson was "unlikely ever to become an efficient missionary in Tonga"; both he and Weiss had already returned to Australia.(23)

At length John Thomas had a convert and this made a deep impression upon his ministry. Lolohea was a son of the chief, Tupouniua, murdered in 1807; his mother had become one of Ata's wives. Lolohea, then about twenty-three years old, was sickening to death when he began to receive Thomas's ministrations, without Ata's prohibition. On Friday, 9 January 1829, three days before his [795] death, Lolohea was baptized, with the name John. Lolohea's mother with a few non-Christians, together with 'Ulakai and some worshippers from Nuku'alofa, were present at the baptism.

The work of Turner and Cross in Nuku'alofa, meanwhile, was meeting with 797 795 mounting success. On 4 January 1829, fourteen months after they had commenced their work, they baptized seven converts. All seven became preachers, the most notable being Peter Vi, the first Tongan teacher in Nuku'alofa, Turner's assistant in translation work, and the first evangelist in Ha'apai. The others were Noah (Mafile'o), Moses (Fakanou), Elisha (Lauola), Barnabas (Kavamoelelo), Joseph (Lavemui) and John (Mo'ungaevalu).(24) Turner states that these baptisms took place on 4 January, "shortly after" Lolohea's baptism at Hihifo; but John Thomas recorded this as occurring on 9 January. There is some confusion here about dates; possibly Lolohea's baptism may have been the first, but the baptisms in Nuku'alofa, as Turner said, were "the first public baptismal services in Nuku'alofa".

aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses 797
from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved 643
me. Did it save anyone else here?". the king instantly jumped to his feet and 794
called out. "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative
he was in avowing his faith in these early days.

The wife whom Taufa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous 797
state was Lupe Pau'u. the bride he had taken from Laufilitonga who was now 644
the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 795
27 September 1834 by James Watkin.(13) The name Salote was taken from Queen 551
Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of
Taufa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of
Taufa'ahau. Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and [585]
Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.(14)

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become 797
Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note of hope in his reports:—

> "We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past." (15)

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka
beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many [795]
as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their [181]
appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal [291]
service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth *(ngatu)*, and the neat plaiting of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the faces of the persons baptized".(16)

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* 177
came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson, was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to 'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity; Taufa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would
be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke 177
out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 439
'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen 609
years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken
from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Taufa'ahau set out with a 177
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[1832 -1835]

number of men to release the Englishmen. He did this in spite of the fact that 177
the chief Malupo had been his enemy and had fought against him. He also 609
compelled the 'Uiha people to return the plundered goods. The sailors were 643
brought to Lifuka where they were given clothes, and the owner, who had criticized missionaries a few days before, was glad to receive their help.(17) The guns from the ship were eventually placed as trophies around the church on the island of 'Uiha.

'Uiha was the last island in Ha'apai to accept Christianity and Taufa'ahau 797
won it over by a stratagem. While he was visiting Vava'u he sent a message to 643
the chief, Malupo, to bring his warriors, 160 in all, to defend him against a possible attack from the men of Vava'u. When they arrived they were disarmed; no one was killed. Taufa'ahau kept them in Vava'u until his own followers had gone to 'Uiha and dismantled its fort.(18) Soon afterwards 'Uiha accepted the new religion and built one of the finest chapels in Tonga.

Taufa'ahau won the highest commendation from the missionaries who contrasted him with the weak though well-meaning Aleamotu'a, Josiah Tupou. Thomas, later, objected to what he regarded as Aleamotu'a's interference in church affairs. In September 1833, Thomas wrote, "Tupou has behaved as though he wished to be a Pope". In January 1834 he complained,

> "Aleamotu'a has got the idea that it is his duty to govern in the Church of Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them, his place to take into society" (= membership) "and put out." (19)

Thomas showed his own growing disposition to be overbearing when he wrote that Nathaniel Turner and Cross,

> "by yielding to Aleamotu'a's covetousness and fearing his displeasure, have not a little strengthened him in his evil ways and thus made it more difficult to manage him. . . . Tongan chiefs wish to be as gods to their people and not only to govern their bodies but their consciences. I have made a firm stand and would sooner be ordered out of the chapel than allow him to govern in the house of God." (20)

Thomas was beginning to realize the problems of the "chiefly church" that his successors were to find a doubtful blessing.

When Aleamotu'a expressed disagreement with the missionaries' decision to remove the printing press from Nuku'alofa to Vava'u as a safer place during the wars, James Watkin commented,

> "Taufa'ahau is worth a thousand Tupous".(21)

Another missionary, Stephen Rabone, wrote of Taufa'ahau,

> "Perhaps no one ever obtained such influence in the Friendly Islands as he has nor is it likely anyone was ever half so much respected and beloved. The Christians love him. The heathen fear him and all parties respect him." (22)

The missionaries anticipated that, when Aleamotu'a died, Taufa'ahau would succeed him as Tu'i Kanokupolu; and, as they rightly regarded this position as politically much more important than that of the Tu'i Tonga, they hoped that Taufa'ahau's growing influence would greatly assist their own cause everywhere in Tonga. Already it seemed that their fortunes and Taufa'ahau's were linked together.

Taufa'ahau built a chapel in Lifuka, and it was opened on 9 September 797
1835, after taking only two months to erect with voluntary labour. The largest 643
in Tonga, 110 feet by 45 feet, the chapel included a communion rail formed of 346
carved spears used formerly by Taufa'ahau and his family, and carved clubs once

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> affair . . . The complaint of the chiefs is that they were not allowed to say what they wished." (36) 642

Baker himself wrote to Chapman, on 3 May 1876: 643 797

> "I must acknowledge that I have drawn out the Constitution and most of the new laws and especially the new civil code, and am putting them through the press, and hope to correct the last sheet this week. . . . I have never pressed anything upon the king." (37)

On 10 June 1876, Watkin again wrote about Baker to Chapman:

> "I am not envious in the least of his position in the Church or of his influence with the king — he is welcome to all . . . I am sorry that the Chairman did not consult his brethren when he was preparing the Constitution for the Tonguese. . . . As far as I can learn the feelings of chiefs and people are against the Constitution. . . . The Chairman (also) started *The Tonga Times* [a newspaper] without consulting the brethren." (38) [204]

The Constitution was more formal and detailed than previous codes. It had 642 an admirable declaration of rights and also wisely provided for the royal 643 succession. This avoided quarrels about the kingship such as those that were tearing Samoa asunder. Some had suggested Henry Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, as successor, but he had been in Fiji since 1848 and was a British subject after 1874; he was considered only if the king's family became extinct. Even if 'Unga was regarded as illegitimate through being born before the Christian marriage of his parents, this would have been unworthy, and he was now recognized constitutionally as the heir-apparent, and his son, Ngu, was designated as 'Unga's successor. As it happened, both of them predeceased Tupou I, and Tupou II succeeded as the son of Ngu's sister, Fusipala.

Certain chiefs (twenty, later thirty-three) were recognized in the Constitution 642 as hereditary nobles. This action pleased these chiefs who had been irritated by 565 the loss of their power over the people in 1862. It created an aristocracy, an affluent element in a poor country, landholders from whom their tribesmen received allotments on payment of rent. It may also have occurred to Baker that [797] the elevation of some chiefs to the rank of nobles would enhance his own prestige with this powerful group; and yet it was from this section that there came much of the opposition that brought about his downfall and ended his political career in 1890.

The leasehold system of land tenure was at the heart of the Constitution. 642 It prevented the alienation of land and also any influx of European settlers who 423 could have caused troubles like those which played a part in the cession of Fiji 609 in 1874. The absence of European plantations removed any need for bringing indentured labourers from abroad, again a very grave problem in Fiji. Only the [645] Tongan Cabinet could approve any lease to a European. The Parliament was to [427] consist of 20 nobles and 20 commoners (later, reduced to seven in each case). [646] As in the earlier Codes, the Sabbath was made a sacred institution in perpetuity. [527] Adultery and fornication were still criminal offences. [684]

Baker may have thought he had weathered the storms within the Mission 797 staff as far as his part in preparing the Constitution was concerned, but his continued involvement in political affairs led to further controversy. He was assailed in the District Meeting on 11 December 1876 on new charges. A fiery and unstable young missionary, James Thomas, brought accusations which, at first, gave Baker an opportunity of turning the tables on his critics. James Thomas alleged that Baker had been "meddling with the politics of Tonga in becoming virtually king", "becoming the author of the new and existing laws of Tonga",

[1879]

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the charges on the spot. Chapman wrote to Gordon on 23 July:

> "Mr. Baker's removal from Tonga is absolute and not at all dependent on the result of the inquiry." (58)

Rutherford had some ground for criticizing this action when he said, "He (Baker) was, in fact, to be punished first and tried last".(59) Chapman, as it happened, was a man of gentle disposition and anything but impetuous or vindictive. It is clear that he and the Committee had at last exhausted the patience that they had shown Baker for years past, with many charges against his conduct at various times.

Chapman, in writing to Dr. M. C. Osborne, Missionary Secretary in London (13 September 1879), admitted that he and others felt that Sir Arthur Gordon wanted Baker out of Tonga because he would not "advance British political interests". That this was not the deciding factor was evident from Chapman's significant statement in this letter:

> "Had it not been for a feeling of uncertainty lest some of the charges against Baker should be provable, and if it had not been that he has caused us some uneasiness in the past, we should not have consented to recall him until our inquiry had shown it to be necessary." (60)

This underlying reason for Baker's removal was made clear to Baker himself in Chapman's letter (6 October 1879):

> "So many unpleasant things have occurred for several years past as to greatly lessen your influence, and therefore your removal was necessary in the interests of the District, independent altogether of the charges we are sent to investigate." (61)

Baker had been censured severely several times by his Church but not withdrawn from Tonga because he was so useful as a fund-raiser for Missions and because there was a fear of offending the king. Neither reason was worthy. At last the Committee decided on his recall, not only because of his political activities in breach of missionaries' instructions, but fundamentally because they knew that there would never be either peace or honour in the Mission while Baker remained in Tonga. On that point they were unquestionably right. Unfortunately for the Church, the Committee acted too late. Baker was establishing
himself as a champion of Tonga's freedom, and he could appeal to local support [609]
against what could be regarded as outside interference. On 17 October the king, [643]
and on 28 October 2,970 signatories to a petition, protested against his removal. [824]

The commission consisted of Chapman and William Clarke, who was President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference that year. They heard Maudslay's charges against Baker in Nuku'alofa from 8 to 29 October 1879. Maudslay had been absent for twelve months on consular duties in Samoa and Fiji and had only just returned before Chapman and Clarke arrived. He declared that he was unprepared for the inquiry; actually, he found difficulty in producing witnesses.(62) The charges were, first, Baker's political activities, his part in the Treaty with Germany and in trying to secure a German secretary for the king; second, financial, his connection with the Bank of Tonga and with the general commercial dealings of the Tonga Government, together with Maudslay's belief that Baker was benefiting from a connection with the German firm; third, collecting from the people on borrowed money through the German firm.

Baker conducted his defence with great ability and adroitness. He had little difficulty in exposing mere rumours and pointing out the insufficient evidence on some charges. He brushed aside political charges, stating that he only gave advice. The third series, with supporting affidavits from traders, were those from

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> people into one Church so that the two Churches will be one Church called the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga." (5) 795

797 On the face of things all seemed favourable. Nevertheless, Watkin was vacillating and distrustful. In his heart he disliked and feared the reversal of the policy of separation, and when, at length, he openly opposed the proposal there were lamentable consequences, for himself and the people of the Churches.

On 11 February Watkin sent to the Queen a letter of resignation:

> "If you will allow me I will resign from the office as President of the Free Church. I informed you some days ago that I am now very old and not equal to the work, and I desire to retire if Your Majesty consents. . . . Your Majesty is aware that by the Constitution a year's notice is required, but if Your Majesty desires that I should retire at once let me know your wishes." (6)

As subsequent events showed, he did not stand by this resignation, just as he did not honour his engagements to enter into union.

The Queen convened a Joint Committee which met at the Palace on 20 and 795
21 February. It consisted of Watkin, six chiefs and six ministers from his Church, 797
and Page with a similar number of Wesleyan representatives. The Constitution of 643
8 August 1885 was accepted, with the use of the correct name, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". This Constitution, as "amended and adopted" by the Committee, was signed by the Queen as Chairman of the Joint Committee, by Mr. Watkin as "President of the Free Wesleyan Church", and Page as "Chairman of the Wesleyan Church", and also Tungi. At the foot of this document it was stated that —

> "The following resolutions are also agreed to:
> (1) Requesting affiliation with the General Conference of Australia.
> (2) Permitting the use of both old and new translations of the Bible in public worship." [779]
> (This referred to the old translation by Thomas West, used in the Free Church, and Moulton's new translation.)

The advantage of the link with Australia was recognized by the Committee [609]
as securing a supply of European ministers and teachers. This was repeatedly emphasized in the months that followed; the Free Church had no European ministers (except Watkin) and no teachers; the Wesleyans had both. It was agreed that the Queen should appoint the first President of the united church and appointments in following years would be by Conference election, with endorsement by the Queen. Regulations for the conduct of worship and for the holding of 795
Church property by trustees were agreed upon. The Joint Committee decided 797
that the first united Conference should be convened in the second week of April. Watkin confirmed this in a letter to the Queen on 24 February; afterwards, he spoke of delaying the Conference until July.

Knowing the urgency of the situation, Page asked J. G. Wheen, Missionary Secretary, to get authority for the Wesleyan Church to enter immediately into union. He did this before the meeting of the Mission Board in February, and before the New South Wales Conference (to which the Tongan Wesleyan Church was attached) also met in February. He requested that the President-General himself would give general approval of the terms of union. Page felt he was justified in doing this, but some of the advisers of the President-General (Dr. E. H. Sugden) doubted whether the decision of the 1913 General Conference (see supra, page 212) was still operative. Finally, the President-General gave the approval that Page had desired. At the New South Wales Conference satisfaction with the prospects of reunion was shown in the fervent singing of the Doxology.

[1773-1777]

175 177 643 648 Not until Cook's visits do we tread on firm ground. When this traveller landed in 1773, he made the acquaintance of several important people. An aged, distinguished islander dined with the English company and appropriated all sorts of presents which Cook had his men hand out (Cook 1803, V, p. 87 ff.). Wilson (p. xlviii) calls this greedy man "Toobou". This was probably Tupoulahi, the 7th *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 87). Another person, even higher in rank, then made an appearance. Cook gives his name as: Kohagee Too Fallangou (1803, V, p. 95). According to Thomson (1894, p. 313) this was Latelibulu, described further by Gifford (p. 83) as the *Tui Lakepa Latunipulu*, a relative of the *Tui Tonga*, who was highly esteemed.

Shortly after this first occasion, in 1777, Cook paid another visit to
the Tonga Islands. He now landed on Nomuka, one of the islands
south of the Haapai Group (Cook 1803, IX, p. 97 ff.). He was
[634] extended a hospitable welcome, and Finau Ulukalala I invited him to go
with him to the Haapai Islands, where he apparently reigned.[4] On
Lifuka Cook was given a grand reception. They exchanged presents
and all kinds of festivities were organized. The way in which Finau
was honoured convinced Cook that this man was the king of all
the Tonga Islands. However, when the *Tui Tonga* himself, Paulaho,
came to the Haapai Islands, Finau after all proved to be of a lower
rank (Cook 1803, IX, p. 162 ff.). Invited by Paulaho, Cook now
also went to Tongatapu. Here he found that besides the *Tui Tonga*
there were other important people on the island. Most important
of these was the aged Maeliuaki (called Mariwagi by Cook), the
Tui Haa Takalaua, who since the decease of Tupoulahi had also
held the office of *Tui Kanokupolu*. During this stay Cook also made
the acquaintance of the 12-year-old son of Paulaho (cf. Walther,
p. 83 ff.). This lad was paid royal honour by Maeliuaki and his brother
"Tubou" (Cook 1803, IX, p. 181). This brother was later to reign
under the name of Mumui as the 13th *Tui Kanokupolu*. Tubou was a
[551] sort of family name (Gifford, p. 88; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95).
175 About this period Thomson remarks that Cook was treated anything
177 but politely by the Tongans (1894, p. 314 ff.). The leaders allowed
643 their people to rob him and they were not at all grateful for the many
648 presents that Cook gave them. Moreover there seems to have been a
609 plan to attack the Englishmen and rob them of their possessions. This

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[4] There have been several bearers of the name Finau. We shall distinguish between them by using the indications I to IV inclusive. See further note 10.

[1777-1793] 175

plan was not carried out, however (Dumont d'Urville 1842, IV, p. 374; Farmer, p. 55; Thomson 1894, p. 315). Of course, one may wonder how this plan became known to later visitors.[A] 177 648 [643] [609]

It has been proved that there were still contacts between Tonga and Samoa in this time, while the Fiji Islands were also included in these contacts (Cook 1803, IX, p. 307). The data give us a strong impression that this last group came within reach of the Tongans only shortly before this time.[5] Various authors state that a loosening of the Tongan morals was due to these contacts with the Fiji Islanders. According to the anonymous "Geschichte der christlichen Missionen..." (p. 50 ff.) the Tongans greatly admired the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands. They followed their example as much as possible, which was noticeable especially from their increasing fighting spirit.[6]

Although the increasing coarsening of the Tongans may partly be ascribed to this, it would appear to us that other influences also played a part here. We may point to the white visitors, whose very presence disturbed the aboriginal pattern of life. The presents they so freely handed out, the use of firearms, the strife among the various leaders to appropriate for themselves the favour of the foreigners, all these are breaches in an existing order. Another thing we must point to is a struggle for power which had been smouldering below the surface for some time and came out into the open at this very time: the struggle between the representatives of the central authority and the rulers of the outer territories. This crisis was intensified further by the tensions between the various authorities on Tongatapu itself. 175 668 578

When Dentrecasteaux and Labillardière visited the Tonga Islands in March 1793 everything was still seemingly quiet. What did strike them was the curious relation between the members of the Tubou family (the relatives of the *Tui Kanokupolu*) and the Fatafehi family (the relatives of the *Tui Tonga*). Labillardière (II, p. 170 ff.) describes, for instance, how a son of Paulaho (the later *Tui Tonga* Fuanunuiava) received presents from the Frenchmen and how a short time later a son of Tubou (Tukuaho, son of Mumui, the *Tui Kanokupolu*) appeared on the scene, took the presents from him and even searched the future 175 571 578

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[5] Several remarks in the literature point to the recent discovery of this group of islands: Cook 1803, IX, p. 308 ff.; Labillardière II, p. 165 ff.; Mariner, p. 276 ff., 333, 495, 511 ff.; Lockerby, p. xvi ff.; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 111, 206; Lawry 1850, p. 253 ff.

[6] Sarah Farmer, p. 65, finds a great coarsening of the Tongans after 1792, but does not account for it. Thomson 1894, p. 318, thinks influence from Fiji the cause of the increasing licentiousness and bellicosity. [181]

[A] [It was William Mariner who found out about the plot to attack and rob Cook. See sources 2: Mariner and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst]

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

[1799-1812]

rebellion against the lawful authority (cf. Collocott 1928, p. 90). 175
Fighting broke out between the followers of the *Tui Kanokupolu* and 669
Finau's party. At first the latter scored a few successes, but after the death in battle of Mulikihaamea this changed (Thomson 1894, p. 325 ff.; Farmer, p. 104). His merciless conduct had many ill effects, and in the end Finau was obliged to withdraw to the Haapai Islands. From here he continued regularly making raids on the main island.

The Protestant missionaries of the "Duff", who were in a dangerous
position on account of this war, tried to leave the island. They found [797]
an opportunity to do so when an English ship called at Tongatapu in 1800 (Farmer, p. 114).

First the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* was held for a short period by 643
Maafuolimuola, then in 1800 Tubou Malohi, a brother of the murdered Tukuaho, came into office. With a break of a few years, which he spent in the Fiji Islands, he retained this office until 1812 (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Lawry 1850, p. 67; Farmer, p. 123; Thomson 1894, p. 333; Gifford, p. 86). However, a new *Tui Haa Takalaua* was not appointed.

Another brother of Tukuaho, Tubou Toa, joined Finau and — with his know- 643
ledge and cooperation — revenged his brother's death by killing Tubou Niua 634
(Mariner, p. 137). After this Tubou Toa was appointed chief of the Haapai
Islands (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Mariner, p. 219). Finau would rule the Vavau 669
Islands himself. However, a rebellion broke out against him here, as he was suspected of having had a hand in the death of Tubou Niua, who was popular on those islands. With difficulty Finau at last managed to subdue the islands
(Mariner, p. 178 ff.). All this did not prevent him, however, from raiding [177]
Tongatapu a few times, in which guns looted in surprise attacks on ships played [713]
an important part.[11]

On Tongatapu the leading figure in these years was Tarkai, who 669
ruled in the district of Bea (Thomson 1894, p. 333). At first he had 634
supported Finau, but now he worked for himself (Mariner, p. 119 ff.). Elisabeth Morey, who was on Tongatapu from 1802-1804 as a prisoner, mentions "Ducava" as the most important chief (Morey, p. 187). This may have been Tahofa, Tarkai's brother (cf. Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95 ff.).

In 1806 the *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa died on the Vavau Islands 643
and he was succeeded by Fuanunuiava. The latter was strongly influenced by Finau. He even married one of his daughters (Mariner, p. 132).

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[11] Thomson 1894, p. 333; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 194. Numerous cases
are known of ships raided in the Tonga Islands between 1800 and 1810. [648]
Lockerby gives various examples of this: p. lxiii ff., 10 ff., 95 ff., 181 ff., [609]
200 ff.; cf. Mariner, p. 58 ff.

161 TABLE 5.--Component Populations of the Kingdom Showing Respective
162 Percentages to Total Population: 1939, 1956, and 1966.
563

Component Population	1939 Census	1956 Census	1966 Census
Tongans	96.28%	97.04%	96.31%
Europeans	1.17	0.40	0.42
Part-Europeans	1.29	1.06	0.66
All Others	1.26	1.41	0.51
	100.00	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: S. N. Fiefia, Report of the Results of the 1966 Census (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1968), p. 17.

563 concentrated within the urban areas. Of this 2 percent non-Tongan
[162] population, nearly 30 percent are of mixed racial composition, the
563 majority of whom are of Tongan and European descent. The signifi-
578 cance of this absence of alien racial elements is the subsequent
171 absence of conflicts of interest between these elements, often evident in other Pacific island groups (i.e., in Fiji between Fijians and Indians, and in Tahiti between the Chinese and native Tahitians).

609 The basis for this homogenic feature may, in part, be traced to the civil war period of Tongan history. During this period, evidence indicates an increasing Tongan hostility toward the resident Europeans. The popularized name, "The Friendly Islands," given to Tonga by Cook, became a misnomer as ships and missionaries were attacked. Tales of murder and cannibalism emanated from the voyages of the ships "Duke of Portland" (1802), "Union" (1804),

609 "Supply" (1822), and "Rambler" (1824) (Wood 1932, p. 34). Although the authenticity of these stories may be questioned, they effectively portrayed Tonga as an extremely inhospitable landing for European ships.

648 Following the civil war period, the newly formed Tongan nation successfully maintained its independent status, despite the fact that other Pacific territories became European colonies or possessions. Prior to 1900, various treaties were signed with France, Germany, the United States, and Britain. The British treaty of 1900 designated Britain as the Protecting Power of Tonga, and reconfirmed Tongan independence. This treaty, in effect from 1900 to 1970, insured Tongan independence and shielded the islands from any substantial alien influences.

167 At no time has Tonga experienced large scale influxes of alien population, such as the introduction of alien labor into
144 Fiji, or the Anglo annexation of Eastern Samoa. This has allowed the maintenance of a nearly pure racial complexion in Tonga, with only a very minimum alien entry.

162 A second significant feature of the Tongan population composition is the age structure. This factor is particularly important in terms of projected population growth rate, as well as to
162 future agricultural, urban, and economic planning. An examination
161 of the 1956 and 1966 censuses reveals a significant expansion of the population percentages within the young age groups (Table 3).A For example, the pre-fertility age group, ages 0 to 14, increased from 43.9 percent of the total population in 1956, to 46.1 percent in

A[See Category 162, p. 28--Analyst.]

CHAPTER IV

LAND TENURE

423 The Tongan land tenure system originated in 1852, following the conclusion of the civil war period of 1799 to 1852. It was at this time that Tupou I proclaimed himself to be ruler of all Tonga, and issued the two proclamations which laid the foundation for land tenure. Maude summarized these two proclamations as: (1) "No person has any title to lands in the islands except by grant from the government," and (2) "It shall not be lawful for any chief or people in Tonga (Tongatapu), Haabai (Ha'apai), or Vava'u to sell a
[432] portion of land to strangers" (Maude 1965, p. 62). Although the
[427] sale of land to foreigners was thus prohibited, leasing was per-
[609] mitted under government supervision, thereby satisfying the requests for land by Europeans (i.e., missions, traders, and refueling facilities).

423
565 The Tongan nobility received the first land divisions, from Tupou I, in the form of estates. This land was to be leased,
423 in turn, to people residing in the vicinity of each noble. Thus,
427 the leasing system probably began shortly after these estates were granted, in the 1850s, and has remained intact to this day.

[651] The first significant step toward formal clarification of the land tenure system appeared in the code of 1862, with the

423 This lack of compliance results from inadequate surveying, disputed
565 boundaries, and/or apathy.

423 In addition to the 31.1 percent of total acreage being
643 held by nobility, Crown lands account for another 20.7 percent. This land, much of which is totally unused, includes the holdings of the King and the royal family.

423 Another type of estate, of recent origin, is that desig-
[647] nated as government estates, under the control of the Tongan Ministry of Lands. These consist of land which has not been granted by the Crown to the nobility.

423 Thus, the estate is the primary unit in the division of land by the Crown. However, beyond the breakdown of land ownership within Table 10, an accurate accounting of land availability
[311] and distribution is difficult. It may be reasonably assumed that over one-half of the Kingdom's total acreage is held in estate form, with much being left unused or used below capacity. The uneven distribution of population further complicates an analysis of the Tongan estate system. For example, while estates in Vava'u and 'Eua may show a capita per acre ration of 1:5, more densely settled Ha'apai and western Tongatapu show ratios of 1:0.9. This fact leads to an expectation of internal migration, resulting in
423 more favorable distribution patterns. However, landless householders
425 indicate that it is extremely difficult to obtain land in distant
[609] areas. This is in direct conflict with the principles of the 1927 Land Act, and emphasizes the influence of tradition and the unwill-
[565] ingness of nobility to lease land to those from outside their districts.

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at 123
their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon
his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which 287
commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until [512]
about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we
entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found
two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They
were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet
long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor
by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each [412]
woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid
before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet
about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking
end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from [415]
time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl
that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child 302
with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her [412]
finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she [415]
went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining
under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not
to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call
this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the
chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the 523
model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were 439
very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and
finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made 531
designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several
lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut 251
lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of
4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had [843]
been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife,
which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat 855
watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of 123
the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance. 609

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the
principal man of the place, who had presided at the school 123
examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner 631
of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, [609]
desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way [352]
superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little
larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept;
the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which
hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay, [534]
[202]

what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 634
18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, 202
which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. 123
The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took 534
up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began [609]
to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his
head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming
so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place
to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side
being much worn away from continual beating. Although the
sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very
loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, 123
where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On
the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot.
As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the 346
church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of
building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the
roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very
deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the
openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was
placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they
crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts
below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any [352]
kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was
built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, [643]
upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection. [797]

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came
to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much 123
that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, 609
"Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make 439
the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were [126]
looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more
anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much
attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at
my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very
intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I
stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe
was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity
to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just
below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do
come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said
I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone,
"Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning [435]
the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a
stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-

123 cerned; and thinking that by a rather decided answer I had got
609 rid of him, I again went on with my sketch.

[439] The natives had begun to assemble on the hill in considerable
numbers, coming in troops from all quarters and gathering round
123 the spot where the band was to play. The young women and
boys who had been crowding round me to see the sketch, now ran
609 off and joined the rest, all except my canoe friend, who still kept
439 hovering about, watching at a short distance until he should again
catch my eye. There was now a fine chance, so he came up
quite close, and looking me for a short time full in the face, with
a most absurd, half-dejected, half-laughing expression, said, in an
abstracted manner, and as if addressing no one in particular,
[435] "O, it is a beautiful canoe, mine." These continued interruptions
became at last rather annoying, and as canoes could be
obtained alongside for an old coat, I endeavoured to explain to
my friend that his ideas were far too extravagant. He listened
with an air of deferential attention until I had quite done, then
said quietly, "You have not seen my canoe;" and warming with
his subject, added energetically, "O it is beautiful!" After this,
however distant he might be from the spot, he was sure to come
and find me out whenever I landed, and haunt me with his
"beautiful canoe." Often, when sketching in some retired part,
where I hoped that for once I was safe from his persecution, I
was sure to see my friend sitting somewhere among the trees,
apparently quite unconscious of my presence, until he could
quietly glide up and get near me without being perceived; and
when close enough to be heard, he would make some observation
in praise of his canoe.

Sinbad was never more tormented with the old man on his
shoulders than I was with this provoking native and his eternal
[435] canoe. At last I was fairly beaten by his passive system, and
finding his canoe really a good one, I gave him—not the five
dollars exactly—but a whole wardrobe of old clothes, which
pleased him quite as well.

123 In this digression about the canoe I had almost forgotten the
band, which arrived in due time, the people all sitting down on
the ground in the most orderly manner, and forming a great circle
round it, the best places being given to the women. The music-stands
[201] having been set up, and all the preparations completed, a duet
from Norma, the Old Hundredth, Drum Polka, Irish Quadrilles,
and British Grenadiers, followed each other in rapid succession,
the principal chiefs expressing their approval at each pause
between the pieces by calling out Mālo māléeah!—Well done!
sweet! adding, "go on again."

501 *June 21st.*—At daylight this morning, two large double canoes,
decked over, and having houses upon them, were seen lying at

562 One of the most remarkable
things in connexion with the Tonga Islands is the
562 respect and consideration in which the women are held. They
565 have female chiefs; and if a woman of the higher class marry any
one beneath her, she still retains her superior rank.

133 The coral reef at Nu-ku-alófa forms a belt along the shore,
varying from 50 to 150 yards in width, deepening suddenly
so that a large vessel at low water might lie close alongside
it like a wharf. Over this coral flat we had always to walk upon
landing, the depth of water upon the crumbling coral varying
from ankle to knee-deep, with occasional holes in which one might
suddenly find himself up to the neck. After our first visit we
always went prepared for any depth.

643 At 4 o'clock King George, accompanied by the missionaries,
609 Messrs. Lawry, Amos, and Daniells, came off to the ship. His
Majesty now wore a clean white shirt, with the usual tappa petticoat
[292] fastened round the waist and hanging down to the feet. He
was received at the gangway by Captain Keppel and officers with
a guard of honour, and was then taken below to the captain's cabin.
Here he looked with great attention at the pictures hanging round,
particularly at some hunting scenes; and being shown a coloured
panoramic sketch which I had made at Cape York, with canoes and
Torres Straits natives in the foreground, he looked at it very attentively,
inquiring where they belonged to, and asking several other
questions about them. In the dining cabin he examined with
great interest the engraving of the Queen after Winterhalter.
[264] At dinner his manner was composed and dignified: he took soup,
[157] and used a knife and fork with perfect ease, taking wine with Captain
Keppel and the rest at table, preferring champagne to any
other, but drinking very moderately. When asked if he would
[262] take some wild-duck (which had been shot at the lagoon in the
island), he replied, "No, that is Tonga, I can always get that,"
and, looking towards a leg of mutton, added, "I will take some
sheep." He inquired the rank of the different officers who were
at table, and observing a midshipman amongst them, he asked
[262] "Why that boy was there?" As he was helping himself when the
cheese came round, one of the missionaries interrupted him rather
hurriedly, telling him that he thought he would not like it; to which
he replied quietly, "If I do not, I can wash it down with water."
[157] The most perfect composure of manner marked all his actions, and
formed one of the most striking features in his character. At
dessert, several glasses, containing different kinds of wine, were
placed before him, in order that he might choose which he liked
best. Captain Keppel observed at the same time that there were
other light French wines if he preferred them, at which he shook
his head, and said, with an animated expression in broken English,
"I do not like French." Upon his health being drunk, and the

compliment explained to him, he immediately thanked Captain 643
Keppel and his officers. After dinner chairs were taken on deck 609.
and the party adjourned to the poop, where the band played a
variety of airs, opera pieces, &c., with which his Majesty appeared
much pleased, saying at the end of every piece, "Mālo" (very good),
adding slowly with a deep bass voice, "Māléeah" (very sweet).
Coffee being served on deck, he laughed at our taking such a
variety of things at one meal, but drank two cups which he half
filled with sugar. He then made a short speech addressed to
Captain Keppel to the purpose "That he was proud a vessel so
large, and belonging to so great a nation, should come to see him
who was so weak and his people so few. That it made him feel 643
glad to see Captain Keppel and so many officers;" and then, 609
alluding to Tahiti, said, "that he knew of the confusion caused by
the French; that he wished not their visits and friendship; that 648
theirs was (unga mátē) a deadly shade, observing, that he did not
say this because he was sitting beside one of the Queen of England's
great chiefs, and on board her ship, but that, if his departed
ancestors could come to speak there that day, they would all bear
witness to his truth, and that if every member of his body had a
voice they would all say, thank you." He spoke fluently, with 643
pleasing intonation and dignified manner. We were told that 609
the Meander was the largest vessel he had ever seen, and he was
very particular in his inquiries as to the number of men and guns
she carried, and expressed some curiosity to know where and how
the men all slept. To explain this, a hammock was taken out of
the nettings and slung under the spanker-boom. While this
was being done, the men forward happened to be hoisting a bullock
out of the boom-boats to be lowered on to the main deck
for killing. This caught his attention and seemed to interest
him more than anything that had been shown him, and forgetting
for a moment his usually dignified manner, he picked up his
tappa gown, and ran forward to look at it.

About seven o'clock he took his departure under a royal salute; and at eight, a number of rockets were sent up, all the natives coming down to the beach to look at them, calling out to each other as they watched them ascending, "See! see! how they walk in the sky!"

June 22nd.—Hearing that the king was to give another great 123
kava party to-day, I went with several others to see it. There 643
was, however, nothing new in the ceremony, but on this occasion I
succeeded in getting a sketch of his Majesty, who soon perceived 126
what I was about, and when it was finished, desired to see it.
The chiefs also were all curious to see it, passing it from one to
another, saying as they looked at it, "It *is* the king." When I [609]
asked through one of the missionaries for the royal autograph, the [212]

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643 king said he did not like to write before so many white men, who
126 were all so much wiser, and who knew how to write so much
609 better than himself, but that he would write it for me when alone.
212 After the Assembly broke up we went to the palace, where we
had called the day before, and found the queen prepared to
123 receive us. Her Majesty was seated on mats in the centre, or
644 chief place of the apartment; the king sitting on her right, and
three principal chiefs on her left hand, the rest of the chiefs all
sitting round in a great semicircle on the lawn before the palace,
644 as they had done at the kava party. The queen is about thirty,
[142] very stout, with a round good-natured face, large and full eyes,
with a very pleasing expression, small mouth and very white
[302] regular teeth. She wore her hair short, and dressed with a white
powder rubbed on wet, and then combed so as to stand up like
the front of a barrister's wig—a mode of hair-dressing by no
644 means unbecoming in the Tongaese women. She received us
609 without rising, smiling and holding out her hand as we were
presented. There were present on this occasion a number of
[123] Feejee chiefs, who had just arrived with one of their principal
000 men. They had their faces and necks blackened, and wore
enormous bushes of hair, dyed different colours and curiously
arranged, very much resembling in this respect the natives of the
[157] Louisiade. They were smaller and much darker in colour than
the Tongaese, with a wild restlessness of expression, quite different
from the placid manner of the Friendly Islanders. Upon seeing
123 me the king remembered my wish to have his autograph, and
126 taking my sketching tablet and pencil with him into the royal bed-chamber—a
609 small room divided by a mat-partition from the one
212 in which we sat—he wrote his name, and brought them out to me
again. Wishing to have that of the queen, whom I had heard
[643] could write, I ventured to ask for hers also. She appeared
[644] pleased with the idea, and smiling, at once got up from her mats,
and going into the bedroom, as the king had done, returned again
immediately, having placed her own signature, "Charlotte Lube,"
[643] or Charlotte the Dove, below that of her royal master. The
king signs "George Tubou," or George the King.

I had tried the day before, without success, to procure one of
123 the musical instruments mentioned by Cook, a kind of flute
126 played with the nose, called a "fung fung," and a native girl
[534] had undertaken to find or make one for me to be ready when we
came on shore to-day. Hearing that she had kept her promise, and
moreover was quite prepared to show me the mode of playing it,
I slipped away from the Royal party, and started off with one of
the missionaries to go up to his house, that I might see the performance,
but as we met her upon the road, bringing three or four
123 of the flutes with her, we turned and walked back. When, how-
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102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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Tongatapu

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ever, we reached the entrance to the Royal enclosure, she hesitated, and would not go in, but continued standing at one of the side-gates, where she could not be seen from the house. After [533] several ineffectual attempts to persuade her to show me how the instrument was played, I gave it up in despair, and returned to the rest of the party, who were seated with the king and queen listening to the band. A short time after I had sat down I thought I saw the matting behind the queen moving as if it were being pushed gently forwards, and my curiosity being awakened, I continued to watch it attentively; it stopped, but in a few minutes there was another movement, and a head was popped in sideways, but instantly withdrawn as I recognised the laughing face of the young lady of the fung fung. I think the queen observed me, for much to my alarm she turned round, and caught sight of the head, which came through again at the same instant, and I was not a little relieved when, instead of showing any displeasure, she spoke in the most good-humoured manner, apparently inviting her to come in, for immediately after, the body followed the head, and the girl seated herself behind the queen. Noon was our time for getting under way, and my chance of hearing the fung fung was becoming less probable every moment. Finding there was no other hope left for it, I requested one of the missionaries to use his influence to see if it could be done. The queen laughed [609] when she heard that I was so anxious about the matter, and even the grave features of his Majesty relaxed into a smile as he seconded my wishes by a Royal command. The girl, rising from her place beside the Queen, came and sat down close in front of me with the fung fung in her hand, while with all the gravity I could muster, I took out my tablets and pencil ready to commence my sketch with the first note, but the moment she put the fung fung up to her nose and began to blow, there was no standing it; my attempts at gravity, by appearing to be very intent upon the sketch, only made the case more desperate, and the girl happening to look at me, it was impossible to contain ourselves any longer, and there was a general burst of laughter—in which no one joined more heartily than the king and queen. The young lady skipped away, nearly overturning one of the missionaries in her hurry to get behind the queen again. She could not be induced to make another attempt in public, but said she would play it in the next apartment where she might be heard without being seen, but here the first few puffs were always followed by her half-suppressed bursts of laughing, in which everybody outside joined, so that after all I got no regular performance on the fung fung. It was now nearly 12 o'clock, and, taking our farewell of their Majesties, we went down to the beach, I, for one, sincerely hoping that the "northing" in the breeze might keep us for a day or two longer.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property 276
when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missionaries,
but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when
Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief 276
when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered 574
a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly 576
resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is
not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being
allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an
insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs [554]
to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá [565]
or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw
away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the 276
two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice.
It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls 249
round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots 123
had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between
them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua 782
about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the
chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had 766
punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was
a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece
of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two
men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little 782
fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the children
as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propitiate 304
them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for 164
some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain
age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have
observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands
of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute
it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms,
or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature 784
and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden.
A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording 784
shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to contain
their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural 609
curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being
observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the

784 tent under tabu, but this restriction, although observed while he
609 was in sight, had evidently no great weight with them, for when
he was gone they came crowding in as before.

609 *Friendly Disposition of the Natives.*—The friendly disposition
of the Tonga Islanders is worthy of remark. Immediately
upon our arrival, nearly every one who went on shore had
609 his particular friend. I was adopted by a chief named Julius,
who exchanged names with me, and was very particular in making
123 me understand that I must apply to him for anything I might require,
and regularly came down to meet me when I landed, always
609 wishing that I should go and dine with him. They showed great
attention in this respect to all the officers who went on shore, taking them to their houses when they came back from shooting, laying out before them boiled fowls, yams, cocoa-nuts, and bananas, and frequently, when a whole party had dined in this way at one place, some other natives would come who had also prepared a dinner for them, and be greatly disappointed upon finding that they had been already entertained, trying to tempt them to eat more by bringing what they had prepared and spreading it out before them.

186 *King George's Flag.*—At the time of our visit the Tongaese had no distinguishing flag, the chiefs ornamenting their canoes with long streamers made with pieces of coloured cotton arranged according to fancy, and it was suggested to the king that he should have a national flag. Since this, he has been to the missionaries and requested that they would prepare one for him, which I hear they have done, and it is described as follows:—"It has occurred to us, that a fit emblem of the past history of Tonga might be a club and a bow and arrows, showing the warlike character of the people. For its present Christian state we select the emblem of a dove with an olive branch, and for the natural state of Tonga, and the bounty of Divine Providence, we fix upon the cocoa-nut tree, as affording so many and various articles for meat and drink and building and furniture."

439 *Proposed Trade between Tongatabu and New Zealand.*—There
has been some attempt to establish a trade in cocoa-nut oil between
these islands and New Zealand. It was proposed that King
439 George should collect sufficient cocoa-nut oil to freight a small
643 schooner, which was to be sent from New Zealand when the cargo
should be ready for it. The oil was then to be sold, and the vessel purchased for the king with the proceeds. This plan does not seem to have been met very warmly by the king, who, I believe, once had a vessel of this description, but having lost her, he has given up the idea of trading, saying that he is tired of trying to get rich, remarking that if one of his large canoes is lost he can easily get another from the Feejees; that he wants nothing among his